NATIONALISM IN SCHOOL EDUCATION IN CHINA

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NATIONALISM IN SCHOOL EDUCATION IN CHINA

SINCE THE OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By

CHIU-SAM TSANG

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University

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DEDICATED

TO

MRS. LI CHAI-SUM

FOREWORD

The present volume is the author's dissertation written in 1931 on the development of school education in Modern China up to the year 1930. It was submitted and accepted by the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University in February, 1932. Now it is to be printed in the spring of 1933.

Much has occurred in the history of China and in the history of the world at large, since the time when the study was concluded, especially since the fall of Mukden on September 18, 1931. At the same time, the continued development of school education in China is of vital concern to us, no less than it ever was before. Although the inclusion of the latest data and development has a valuable place, the author considers it best, under the circumstances, to publish this dissertation in its original form as it was accepted by the University, owing to the fact that, as a dissertation, it should keep to the manuscript as already approved and accepted, and also to the fact that, as a historical study, the revision of the contents merely for the sake of terminating the period of study at a more recent date is not necessary. He is consoled by the fact that no study of any phenomenon of contemporary history by the time of its completion can yet be up-to-date.

In the light of the recent national and international experiences, does it not seem that the subject of this study is as well worth our attention to-day as it was when the study was made, and, does it not seem that the point of view of the author two years ago is as justifiable to-day as it was then?

Through misinformation, misinterpretation, partial presentation, or unfounded generalizations, Chinese school education has heretofore been conceived of, especially prior to the recent Japanese Invasion, as undesirably nationalistic and chauvinistic.

But in the light of the analysis of the total situation as presented in this study, and in the light of the discouraging situations as found in China and in her diplomatic relations as revealed in her recent experience with Japan, does it seem that the nationalistic aspect of Chinese school education has reached the point which should cause the hostile critics' condemnations or our friends' alarm?

In causing this dissertion to print, the writer wishes to take the opportunity to record his gratitude to his teachers who have guided him in the study. First of all, he wishes to thank Professor George S. Counts, sponsor to the dissertation, for his enlightenment on the social approach in the study of education, for his generosity in the giving of his time, and for his guidance from beginning to end. To Professor William H. Kilpatrick, he owes a deep sense of gratitude for his kindness in going over the manuscript with painstaking care and with most valuable comments and advice. To Professor Harold Rugg, the writer is thankful for his kind interest in the study and for his helpful editorial suggestions. To them all, he is specially grateful for the privilege of learning under them their progressive philosophies of education for a changing civilization, without which the same subject might have been treated much differently and less adequately.

Thanks are also due to Professor Paul Monroe, Professor John L. Childs, and Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes for their valuable criticisms and advice.

Finally, for a subject of this nature, the responsibility should not be misplaced. For the attitudes and positions taken as well as for other errors of commission, the writer himself is entirely responsible.

CHIU-SAM TSANG.

Canton, China
April, 1933

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NATIONALISM IN SCHOOL EDUCATION IN CHINA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL REMARKS

From the standpoint of directing education for a changing civilization and of promoting the cause of international peace, the present topic of study, at a glance, may seem to be insensitive, on the part of the author, to the more vital problems of the new age and even reactionary to more progressive thinking. But, upon reflection, there seems to be a proper place for such a study, because it may throw light upon the nature of the cultural changes in China and upon the prospects for internationalism. It is only after due consideration of the actual situation and of the development of nationalism in school education, that the solution proposed for the Chinese educational problem either in terms of a changing civilization or in terms of internationalism may have a sounder basis. The investment of time and the entertainment of thought may have their compensation.

There has been considerable writing on China within the last decade bearing on the topic "nationalism". Some writers seem to think that there has been too much nationalism in China; others, that there has been too little. But few see beyond the Student Movement of 1919 and the mass movements subsequent to the Shanghai Incident of 1925; and most of them refer to nationalism as a recent phenomenon. It seems to the writer that there may be less nationailsm, in reality, than what appears to those who think there is too much, and more nationalism than what appears to those who think there is too little. Probably both are in error, magnifying certain points and overlooking others, focusing on certain aspects and neglecting others. In any case, the picture is a distorted one and as true as it is untrue. For this reason, this study purposes to present and analyze the development of the various phases of school education from the several aspects of nationalism.

But besides the passive function of clarifying the school situation for those interested in a changing civilization and in internationalism, and for the critics, this study proposes to clear the ground for those whose duty it is to direct the course of education in China, especially those concerned with Sun Yat-Sen's "Principle of Nationalism." It is the belief shared by many Chinese that there is still more room for nationalistic emphasis in the Chinese schools, as there is still more room for emphasizing social, economic, and political ideals.

in general. In the first place, nationalism may be made a stepping stone to internationalism and to world brotherhood. In the second place, as long as the advanced nations are inspired by and rooted in the ideals of nationalism, China should also recognize the necessity of such a national foundation in order to find her place in the accepted world. In the third place, although the intellectual leaders of the West are beginning to respond to a movement for internationalism, the intellectual leaders in China should be sensitive to the fact that China belongs as yet to a different category from those nations in her national and international status. However, this study does not attempt to prove any of these theses; it merely presents and analyzes, as objectively as possible, the degree and extent of nationalism, or the lack of it, in Chinese education. The comparison of the school situation in China with those of other countries must be left for a separate study.

THE PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

The present study is on that phase of school education in China which bears upon the subject of nationalism. It tries to point out the nationalistic implications of school education in China and to show how nationalism has affected the school and how the school in turn has affected the development of nationalism or the inter-action between school education as a social agency and nationalism as a social force.

The term "school education" as it appears in the title looks awkward, but its use is both necessary and deliberate. It is necessary because the present study deals simply with that phase of education which is related to the school. Therefore, other educational agencies such as the press, the theater, the political, economic, religious, and other cultural institutions and activities are not under consideration in this study. It is deliberate because the writer wants to correct the popular practice of identifying education with school education and the prevailing mistake of conceiving anything taught or learned outside the school as outside of education. In fact, as far as numerical strength is concerned, the school population* of China is only a small fraction of the total population‡ and even of the population of the school age. He is aware of the fact, however, that the school in China plays a larger role than it usually does in other

* According to the statistics collected in 1923, the total number of students in the modern schools including the Protestant schools is 6,819,486, with 6,601,802 in the elementary school level, 182,804 in the secondary school level, and 34,880 in the college level. ("Statistical Summaries of Chinese Education," p.1. Bulletins on Chinese Education, 1923, Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education).

‡ In regard to the population in China, see p.13 of the present study.

societies or at other times, owing to the fact the scholar in China has always been the most responsible element in public life and that the school during this period of cultural transformation is the chief agency for the introduction of new ideas.

In an endeavor to present the total situation of the school in China, we shall analyze, accordingly, the major phases of school education, such as the aims of education, the curricula, the school textbooks, the students, the teachers, and the private schools. Each of these phases will be examined chiefly in the interest of the several aspects of nationalism, in terms of national power, national unity, national culture, and national sovereignty. The relationship, or lack of it, between school education and nationalism will be seen through the historical development of various phases of the school in connection with the development of nationalism. We shall notice how nationalism is expressed through the school as the conditions vary with respect to the nature of the national stimuli, the extent of national-consciousness, the means of expression, and the changing conception of the world.

As to the period of time covered, this study deals chiefly with the development since the opening of the twentieth century. For certain purposes, its development is traced back to 1862, the year when the Tung Wen Kuan (Language Institute) was established, for there the seed of the transformation of school education in China was first sown. For historical reasons, the development may be traced back to 1840, when the first serious conflict with the Western world took place. But, in general, we shall deal with the development of the last three decades after the introduction of the modern school system in China.

THE SOURCES OF MATERIAL

The chief sources of material for this study are Chinese literature of the concurrent period. It is based upon educational documents, educational reports, educational journals, educational books, school textbooks, Chinese histories, newspapers, etc. English literature treating on the subjects of nationalism, China, Chinese education, comparative education, etc., has also been consulted. The footnotes and the bibliography show more specifically the material being called upon in this study.

The writer is fully aware of the fact that there are limitations to his sources of material. There is the limitation of the absence of assembled literature of modern education in China, owing partly to the lack of such an interest and need in the past and partly to the process of change and instability which public education in China has been experiencing. The fact that this study is undertaken in residence abroad makes the limitation more keenly felt. Such a limitation is further

complicated by the departure the present writer has taken in his broader interpretation of nationalism. It is hoped, however, that the data collected and presented in this study will possess the character of a normal "sampling" and will not entirely lose its place as a representative, though not, by far, an exhaustive, treatment of the problem.

THE PROCEDURE

We shall first examine the aims of education as promulgated by the government at various times and point out both obvious and implied nationalistic meanings. The period prior to the adoption of the modern school system, from 1862 to 1900, will also be studied in the initial discussion so as to give a clearer background for a better understanding of the subsequent chapters. We shall discuss, in connection with the aims of education, some leading phases of educational thought. Following the examination of the aims will be an examination of the curricula, which are the interpretations of the educational aims of each period. Attention will be centered on the various subjects which are supposedly more susceptible to nationalistic sentiments. They will each be reviewed according to their changes and to their nationalistic significance.

Next will come the analysis of the textbooks, which in turn are the interpretations of the curricula. The leading series of textbooks of the periods from 1912 to the present time will be analyzed to show the changing attitudes of the textbooks toward various aspects of nationalism as well as their apparent success or failure in the inculcation of nationalism. The last three discussions on the students, the teachers, and the private schools will deal with other phases of school education that are less institutionalized. The students are the beneficiaries of school education, the teachers are the transmitters of school education, and the private schools are the auxiliary, or otherwise disintegrated, organs of the national program of school education. They seem to be more sensitive to social forces or social attacks. The discussion on students will be made under the topics of their migratory movements and their social and political movements. The discussion on the teachers will be brief. The training of teachers and the qualification of teachers will be seen principally in the interests of national unity and national culture. The discussion on the private schools will be chiefly on the mission schools. Other schools maintained by foreigners are also touched upon. But inasmuch as the problems of national power and national unity have similar bearing upon the private schools maintained by the Chinese, and inasmuch as the government now classifies the foreign and Chinese private school under the same category, they will be discussed under the same caption. In all those cross-section studies, as cross-section studies they all are, we sometimes take the periods

of development as the constant and the aspects of nationalism, the school subjects or other outstanding topics as variables, and sometimes we take the aspects of nationalism as the constant and the rest as variables, etc., depending upon the nature of the case.

The final duty will be to discover the outstanding features in school education in China that relate to the question of nationalism. We shall point out the major outlines of the development, how the various conditions of nationalism affect the school and what phases of the school, how the national sentiments affect the school, and how the school affects the development of those ideals.

WHAT THIS STUDY DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO DO

There are several things which this study does not attempt to do. In the first place, it does not attempt to show that nationalism, however strong and dominant a factor, has been the only social force that has shaped school education in China. While nationalism is being isolated as a separate factor for study, the writer does not appreciate any less a multitude of social forces at work at the same time in determining school education in China to-day. Take, for instance, the ardor for freedom, individual and social, freedom from the domination of the ruling classes, of the male sex, of family control, of teachers, and of authority of any kind, freedom from the yoke of rituals, customs, religions, and taboos. Such a movement may be called the Renaissance of China, answering the call of democracy and science for the equal rights of men and for the spirit of inquiry. Indeed, at times, this social force is greater than the force of nationalism. Secondly, neither does this study attempt to show that nationalism is the only force in shaping Chinese education, nor does it attempt to show that it should be. Life is complex. To have the school guided under only one concept is certainly leading the nation to a very unbalanced and thus undesirable development. Third, this study does not try to prove that all forms of nationalism have always been present in every phase of Chinese school education, or that nationalism has always been a factor in its growth. Fourth, while the aims of education, the curriculum, etc., will be studied, they are only studied in their relation to nationalism and its problems. It is not a study of Chinese educational aims, the Chinese school curriculum, etc., in themselves.

Although the phase of education in China to be observed is limited to the school and although the study is confined to one aspect of national life, namely, nationalism, the writer realizes even then the wide scope with which he is confronted. Inasmuch as it is necessary to have a general survey of the total school situation in its relation to nationalism, the treat-

ment of the sub-topics is bound to be limited to their main features. It is obvious that the topic of any chapter or even of a section of a chapter may very well merit a separate study in itself.

THE MEANING OF NATIONALISM

Before proceeding into the analysis of the subject, it seems necessary and fitting here to clarify the meaning of nationalism as employed in this study and to present the historical background of China as a basis for the discussion of the school situation.

Writers on the subject of nationalism are at once confronted with the difficulty of defining the term. One difficulty is that the very subjects "nation" and "nationality" from which the conception of "nationalism" is derived still lack a profound and systematic treatment, because the task involves a scholarly possession of knowledge in history, anthropology, and social psychology.* Another difficulty is that differences in pro-

* C. J. H. Hayes, Essays on Nationalism, p. 2. Macmillan Co., New York, 1926.

fessional interests lead to differences in definition. For instance, the psychologist deals with the psychological aspect, the sociologist with the sociological aspect, and the historian with the historical aspect.‡ Personal interests and prejudice also lead

‡ H. A. Gibbons, Nationalism and Internationalism, p. 2. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1930.

to differences. A definition is often highly colored by the attitude of the author toward nationalism, whether he is for it, against it, or neutral. Consequently a rigid definition cannot be expected.

One encounters even greater difficulties and more serious consequences if he tries to apply definitions of nationalism as used in the West to the Chinese situation. To criticize the infantile stage of Chinese nationalism in terms of the exaggerated form of natonalism in the West of to-day is unfair.

The type of nationalism prevalent in the Western world to-day, which their liberal scholars and progressive leaders attack, is probably the type which Professor Hayes has called "Integral Nationalism". According to him, "It is the exclusive pursuit of national policies, the absolute maintenance of national integrity, and the steady increase of national power—for a nation declines when it loses military might."* Such an

* C. J. H. Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism, p. 165. Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1931.

aggressive and assertive type of nationalism, it must be clear, is quite different from the type of nationalism prevailing in China. Indeed, Professor Hayes has warned his Chinese readers that it may be necessary to think of Chinese and Western nationalism in different terms.‡

‡ In the Special Preface to the Chinese Editions of his Essays on Nationalism, Hayes has made these statements: "When my very good friend, Professor Tsiang, wrote me that he and a group of his students were preparing a Chinese translation of my Essays on Nationalism, I was filled with mingled emotions of pleasure and doubt: Pleasure that the book had attracted attention in China and that it was being translated into Chinese under the competent and scholarly supervision of Professor Tsiang, and doubt lest its message might be misunderstood and misinterpreted in China. For the book was originally written by an American in that part of the world which Europeans call the Far West, and now it is to be read in your own language by a people in the Far East. And though Far East and Far West adjoin, there is a difference, and I who wrote for the West know the East far less intimately.

"There has been in the West, of course, a good deal of publicity about Chinese nationalism. . . . But whether China's nationalism is the same thing as the nationalism which we have in the West and which is described in this book or whether it is but the old spirit of oriental exclusion and seclusion revived in the newer dress, or perhaps a merely natural reaction to the dominant current of contemporary world politics, I cannot say."

Thus, remembering that Chinese nationalism should be conceived of independently and that no rigid definition can be made, the following tentative definition is proposed for this study: Chinese nationalism is the sum total of thinking, feeling, and acting, based upon the sense of belonging together in a group which is, or is thought to be, the Chinese nation.

But more important than defining nationalism is the pointing out of the sentiments around which the feeling, thinking, and acting are gathered, and the changes in feeling, thinking, and acting which take place from time to time. As it would be difficult to analyze the school situation in terms of nationalism in its general abstraction, we shall consider here four aspects of nationalism and four conditions that determine its development. As intimated before, the four aspects are national power, national unity, national culture, and national sovereignty. If one thinks of the concrete objects of attainment, he may call them the immediate objects of nationalism; if one thinks of them in a more abstract sense, he may call them the ideals of nationalism; and if one thinks of the psychological side, he may speak of them as sentiments of nationalism, such as the sentiment for national power, for national unity, for national culture, and for national sovereignty.

By national power is meant the effort to be as powerful as other nations in military strength, in an educated populace, in material development, and in wealth. By national unity is

implied the desire for solidarity and for a common national outlook, brought about by centralization, regulation, standardization, and uniformity through some kind of national control. By national culture is meant the desire and effort to preserve and to amplify the national heritage in religion, in ethics, in social institutions and traditions, in literature and art. By national sovereignty we refer to the struggle for national rights and national freedom. Looking at them from one angle, they are four aspects of the same thing, as they are all centered around the loyalties to the national group. Looking at them from another angle, they may be in conflict with each other in the process of realization of each. The attainment of national power, for instance, has resulted in the forsaking of the national culture, as we shall see later. And yet, looking at them from still another angle, they may be looked upon as a process. The maintenance of national unity is to strengthen national power; the preservation of national culture is to ascertain national unity; the realization of national sovereignty is the product of national power.

There are four conditions which have determined Chinese nationalism. They may very well be the conditions that have determined the form of nationalism of other "backward" countries. They are, first, the nature and amount of national stimuli; second, the degree and extent of national consciousness; third, the knowledge and outlook on the world; and fourth, the available means of expression. National stimuli may have taken the form of national irritants or of national and international crises. Nationalism in China has been most fervent and intense when the irritants were strongest and freshest. When the irritants were nullified or diverted, nationalism became weakened. It seems that, other things being equal, by increasing national irritants upon the Chinese people from outside, Chinese nationalism has become more fervid; and similarly, by removing the sources of complaint, Chinese nationalism has become very mild.

National consciousness is another condition. Without it no irritation could result in the development of nationalism.*

* H. A. Gibbons, Op. Cit., p. 70-71.

It is not difficult to arouse national consciousness in China because of the unity of the people for centuries in political government, in written language, in religion, in history, in geography, in race, and in customs and traditions. Among her Asiatic neighbors, she has advantages as compared with India and disadvantages as compared with Japan. Japan has a small territory to cover where national consciousness can be awakened more easily. India, on the other hand, is fundamentally handicapped by internal differences in language and in religion.

Change in the knowledge and conceptions of the world also effects change in the development of nationalism. By the knowledge of the world we refer to the knowledge of the Chinese at that particular time of the history of other nations, their geography, their customs and laws, their culture, their power, their politics, their interests, their diplomacy, and their international positions. By the conceptions of the world we refer to the interpretation of that knowledge, partial or complete, correct or distorted, with regard to either its value or its significance to China. Such knowledge and outlook increase and modify from day to day as contacts are more frequent and more intimate. In a nation which is left behind, what other "advance" nations have done, and, more especially, what they are doing, has a great deal to do with the formation of its attitude toward the world. Rightly or wrongly, "backward" nations tend to follow suit as if under the suggestion of fashion that "everybody is doing it" regardless of what that "it" assumes and implies. The national style immediately after the termination of the World War is illustrative of this point. When the atmosphere of international peace was tense, in spite of the dissatisfaction over the Treaty of Versailles, the Chinese were tremendously hopeful over the prospects of Internationalism and world democracy. That outlook has been changed in recent years when further knowledge seemed to indicate that such hopes are far from being capable of immediate practical realization. Whether that post-war outlook or the later outlook is a correct one, the point is that nationalism is conditioned by one's knowledge and outlook on the world or the "nation's philosophy of life." Looking at the problem in a negative way, lacking a correct knowledge of the world, the presence of national irritants and national consciousness may result in such forms of nationalism as anti-foreignism, such as the Boxer Revolt.

Nationalism is further conditioned by the means available for expression. By the means of expression is meant, on the one hand, the cultural heritage and cultural facilities of the people, and, on the other, the modern instrumentalities of the industrial civilization.

The possession of a common history and a common culture is not only helpful in awakening national consciousness but also in providing ways by which the spirit of nationalism can express itself. With the many instruments, such as the press, the common school, the large standing army and navy—all made possible by industrial civilization—nationalism in the West has been able to develop in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The possession of a distinct culture, plus the attainment of industrial progress, makes the condition much more favorable for the development of nationalism.

Bearing in mind those four conditions of nationalism, one would be more ready to admit that nationalism in China could not be a Western importation. What the West did to Chinese nationalism was to intensify the conditions through the deepening of national irritants, the widening of national consciousness, the modified outlook of the world, and the multiplied instruments of expression. It must be borne in mind that the major factor in nationalism is the common feeling of belonging together in a group which, in opposition to other groups, cherishes the same aspirations in political, social, religious, and cultural life. It is not the form of expression which is significant. Parading in the streets, saluting the flag, teaching the history of national disgrace, military training in the schools, boycotting foreign goods, etc., are only modern forms of expression. These are but the expressions of the feeling of a common affiliation which is called nationalism.

In this connection, it may be appropriate to mention here that, during the latter part of the Tsing Dynasty, there existed in China a dual-nationalism, one aspect of which focussed on the Manchurian domination and the other on Western Imperialism. Looking at it from the standpoint of the Manchu government, the encouragement of the latter on the one hand and the discouragement of the former on the other, constituted a difficult task to perform. Chinese nationalism had to be split in two and dealt with separately. But, unfortunately, the promotion of one inevitably effected the promotion of the other. Indeed, that was a difficult function to discharge, and history has finally proved that the Manchus' attempt was a failure which resulted in the fall of their Dynasty.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING AND BACKGROUND OF MODERN SCHOOL EDUCATION IN CHINA

In order to better understand the development of nationalism in modern school education in China, it is necessary to review the history of China for the last hundred years, the psychological reactions of the Chinese in their contacts with the modern world, and the general physical features of China. We shall take them up in the reverse order.

THE GENERAL PHYSICAL FEATURES OF CHINA

What is China? This is a difficult question. While Western diplomats are puzzled by the territorial boundaries, writers on social life in China should be aware of the extensiveness or limitation of their mental picture of China.

Geographically speaking, present-day China consists of 28 provinces and two extra territories—Outer-Mongolia and Tibet. It covers a territory of over four million square miles. It is a

compact, continental area covering practically all of southeastern Asia, cut off by big deserts and mountain ranges on the north and west and surrounded on the east and south by the sea. In latitude it reaches from 19 degrees north, in the Island of Hainan, to 53 degrees north in Heilungkiang; and in longitude it extends from 72 degrees east, in Turkestan, to 134 degrees east at the mouth of the Ussuri River.* Its climate

* E. T. Williams, China, Yesterday and To-day, Revised Edition, p. 7. Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, 1927.

is chiefly temperate, but is tropical in the far south. It has varying elevation in different regions of the country and with much fertile soil, and rich natural resources. For thousands of years it was self-sufficient and practically isolated as a world unto itself.

The population is estimated to be over four hundred million people,* nearly a quarter of mankind. The racial composition

* The population of China is given in various figures. Some give it as low as 342,639,000, others as high as 485,508,838. According to the census by the Minchengpu (Ministry of the Interior) in 1910, the total population of China is 342,639,000; according to the post office estimate of 1926, the figure runs as high as 485,508,838 (with Sinkiang and Tibet excluded); according to the Maritime Customs estimate of 1927, the number is 457,787,000 (with Sinkiang, Tibet, and Mongolia, excluded). See China Year Book, 1929-30, pp. 1-5, edited by H. G. W. Woodhead, The Tientsin Press, Ltd., Tientsin.

is predominantly Chinese (The Hans), with four other racial elements—the Manchus, the Mongols, the Mohammedan-Turks, and the Tibetans—on the Northeast, North, and West, who constitute less than ten million people, or only 2.5% of the total population.‡ Perhaps the Chinese can generally be con-

‡ "Principle of Nationalism," Lecture 1, Sun Yat-Sen, San-Min-Chu I (The Three Principles of the People), translated by F. W. Price, published by China Committee, Institute of Pacific Relations, Shanghai, 1927.

ceived of as a unique type. If we do not look too remotely into the past in insisting upon the origin of the Chinese race, as to whether they are not even a form of mulatoes,§ and if we do

§ A. N. Holcombe, The Chinese Revolution, pp. 41-44. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1930.

not look too far into the future in pointing out the rise of the problems of nationality of the Manchus, the Mongols, the Tibetans, the Mohammedan-Turks, or the naturalized immigrants and emigrants and children of some foreign parentage, Chinese nationality is practically determined by any or all of these factors: common blood, common language, common religion, common history, common customs and traditions, common culture, besides the factor of a natural geographic coherence.

While one may have a correct physical picture of what China is or a mental picture of what the Chinese are, it is difficult for writers on Chinese social development of to-day to speak of the China which is truly representative. Some speak of the old China which is passing away and some speak of the new China which is just emerging. As a writer has said: "China is amazingly old, yet strangely young—crudely so; she is solidly stable and yet in flux; she is lethargically pacific yet cursed by militarism; in short, she is paradox itself."* The

* Stephen King-Hall, Western Civilization and the Far East, p. 312. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1924.

difficulty not only exists when one speaks of the old and new China undifferentiated, but it exists even when one is speaking of modern China itself. One is always up against the question as to whether he is speaking of the majority, the common, the average, the normal, the typical, the trend, the outstanding, the spectacular, or the interesting. However, keeping in mind the variations and diversities in China to-day we may avoid generalizing more than is justified by particular instances. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the words "China" and "the Chinese" as used in this study in such connections as "China was determined to modernize herself" (p. 27) and "The World War also revealed Western diplomacy to the Chinese in a highly unfavorable light" (p. 24), imply that population of China or that portion of the Chinese people which constitutes the dynamic populace. The leadership of a few is clearly seen, but the articulation between such leadership and the populace is also present. So the implications of the terms as well as their limitations have to be both recognized.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN CHINA'S EARLY CONTACTS WITH THE MODERN WORLD

We shall now proceed to a review of the major development of nationalism in the last hundred years. But in order to understand her history of the last hundred years, consideration of the human element or the psychological factors involved is deemed necessary. Western writers, however truthful in intent, have often presented the facts from the Westerner's point of view. While the Westerner's point of view has no doubt dominated the settlement of all questions of China's foreign relations, yet for a better understanding of the development of Chinese nationalism, the Chinese point of view should not be ignored. Taking for granted that the Westerner's point of view is familiar to the English reader, the writer presents here the other point of view commonly held by the Chinese.

The history of China for the last hundred years, and more particularly the development of Chinese nationalism of the

concurrent period, cannot be understood apart from her foreign relations. As M. J. Bau has said, "Ever since the opening of the country, the history of China has been dominated by foreign contacts." Not only has her modern history been composed principally of incidents of foreign contacts and conflicts, but her domestic affairs and policies have also been dominated by her adjustment or reactions to conditions arising from her foreign relations. More intimate and significant has been the relation between such foreign affairs and the development of nationalism. Since nationalism is principally a matter of group feeling, in order to understand the development of Chinese nationalism it is necessary to inquire how the Chinese felt and why they felt the way they did. In the light of that knowledge, we shall be able to appreciate the Chinese point of view, their attitude toward foreigners, foreign culture, foreign nations, and, in turn, their attitude and estimation of themselves, their native culture, and their own nation. As to whether the Chinese point of view is a correct one from the standpoint of an international jurist or a fact-finding historian, the question does not primarily concern us in this particular study, as one can readily see.

First, let us consider the Chinese traditional attitude toward foreign culture. It was very unfortunate that, before the modern period, the Chinese as a people had met no equals in culture, from the dawn of their recorded history.* Even their

* Nathaniel Peffer, China, The Collapse of a Civilization, p. 53. John Day Company, New York, 1930.

conquerors, the Mongols and the Manchus, had to admit the superiority of China's culture and, as a result, were assimilated by it to a greater extent than the Romans were Hellenized. The neighboring territories that carried on relations with her always came with tributes.

To be sure, Chinese civilization at its present state of dissolution and collapse cannot be looked upon with the same esteem. But, at the birth of the nineteenth century when the Europeans came, it was not so inferior to the European civilization of the synchronous period. It was just after the climax of prosperity in China, immediately after the reign of the Emperor Chien Lung. At that time, China had good reason to refuse to intercommunicate with the foreign peoples, as there seemed nothing to gain, as expressed in Emperor Chien Lung's letter to King George III.‡ It was with such a setting that

‡ Bertrand Russell, The Problem of China, pp. 46-48. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1922.

China entered into her diplomatic relations with the Western world.

Second, we have to understand the traditional respect for territorial jurisdiction. From time immemorial, this principle

has been accepted in China without dispute: "When you enter a foreign territory, ask what they prohibit; when you enter a village, follow their customs." The Chinese emigrants are still following that principle in adapting themselves to their new environments instead of demanding that the natives change the laws to fit them. The fact that the Chinese are found in all corners of the world without the accompaniment of imperialism is due to the very fact that the Chinese government never thought of exerting its political influence over the laws and customs of other lands where their nationals happened to dwell. In fact, the emigrant was not altogether looked upon with favor. Emigration, especially to high officials, was associated with a form of exile from home, a kind of life either inflicted upon one as a punishment or else sought only by individuals not much desired at home. The Chinese were tremendously puzzled when foreign governments demanded special terms and laws for their nationals who came to Chinese soil, and who, in the earlier days especially, not infrequently, in their appearance and conduct, disgraced the very culture and governments which they represented.

Third, we should notice the Chinese principles of diplomacy. To resort to arms in place of argument in the settlement of disputes was always looked upon as uncultured. Diplomacy was associated with manners and rites and not with army and navy. As William Hung has so wittily said: "In the old government of China there was no Colonial Office, no State Department, no Ministry of Foreign Affairs. China's foreign relations were conducted through one of these grand departments of government known as the Li Pu, or literally, the Bureau of Politeness. . . . They were thoroughly familiar with the theory and practice of bows and kowtows, but they were entirely helpless to face the arrival of these new foreigners who had not come to help the Chinese court or the Chinese literati in the cultivation of the polite virtues, but who had come only to conquer or to make money."* The negotiations of Lord

* Nationalist China, Pamphlet No. 45, p. 4. Foreign Policy Association, New York, 1929.

Macartney in 1793 and of Lord Amherst in 1816 did not give the Chinese an impression of the dignity of the government which they represented, for better types of Westerners had been seen in the Chinese courts, people like Matteo Ricci in the Ming Dynasty and Adam Schaal in the Tsing Dynasty, not to speak of Marco Polo.

Fourth, the issues that opened the earliest conflicts were most unfortunate. One was the sale of opium and the other was the preaching of Christianity. In the minds of the Chinese, the Westerners were insistently imposing upon the Chinese, things that would degenerate the Chinese both physically and

morally. To the Chinese, the opposition of the Westerner to the banning of the import of opium was beyond any good sense. In the first place, the poison had been having most devilish effects upon the national finance of China and upon the vitality of the Chinese people. As Lin Tse-Hsu pointed out at that time, "If opium is not terminated, every day will find the nation getting poorer and the people weaker. Several decades later, there will not only be no revenues for collection, but also no soldier capable of service."‡ In the second place, it was impossible for the

‡ Tso Shun-Sheng, Source Book of Chinese History of the Last Hundred Years, p. 15. Chung Hwa Book Co., Shanghai, 1928. (In Chinese).

Chinese leaders to understand the moral standard of the insistent foreigners. In his edict to the foreign merchants, Lin said: "In profiting oneself, others should not be harmed. Why do you bring opium which your own country would not care to smoke, into our territory, cheating the people of their wealth and ruining their lives?"* In the third place, the Chinese

* Ibid., p 23.

considered that their confiscation of opium in 1839 was very fair after one century's trial, and now in its final determination to punish Chinese offenders of the law with equal if not greater severity than the foreign trader. Besides, it was promised that for the opium confiscated generous compensations would be made.‡ In the fourth place, even among the Western nations

‡ Ibid., p. 24-25.

there was sufficient public opinion at that time which favored the Chinese point of view. "The American government . . . repeatedly warned Americans that those engaging in it (opium trade) would have no protection from their government."§

§ E. T. Williams, Op. Cit., p. 352.

Except for George Elliot who represented the British traders, all the traders from other countries agreed that opium trade be exterminated according to the terms of the Chinese government.†

† Chiang Kung-cheng. History of National Disgrace, p. 18. Chung Hwa Book Co., 1927. (In Chinese.)

Even Queen Victoria was said to have warned her traders to respect the Chinese law in regard to the evil trade.§ Indeed,

§ Ibid., p. 23.

there seems hardly anything more paradoxical than this event. It would have seemed more true if it were the opium-smoking Chinamen who used brutal force to insist upon opium import into the country of a peaceful Christian people!

Another unfortunate issue that led to the early conflicts was the issue of Christianity or the issue of missionaries. No

matter how differently the Christians or even the Chinese converts may look at the matter, the masses of the Chinese people have always looked upon Christianity as the handmaiden of Western aggression.* The reason is not due to the fact

* C. K. Wu, The International Aspect of the Missionary Movement in China, p. 132. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1930.

that the Chinese as a people are particularly intolerant toward other religions, but perhaps rather to the intolerance of Christianity in its evangelical activities as history seems to have repeatedly illustrated. According to the Chinese, there are two ways of authority, one "the way of the prince," which is superior, the other, "the way of the war-lord," which is inferior. The way of Christianity in the eyes of the Chinese has been unfortunately associated with the latter. Its claim of superiority was made by violence and imposition. Surely if one wants to ignite the fire of trouble, the issue of a conflicting culture is as good a means as any. What was worse in the case of China was the peculiar temper of Christian missionaries. They possessed, on the one hand, the most unconquerable spirit of pioneers and forerunners and a most uncompromising attitude regarding the superiority of their religion. Such a disposition is enough to cause disputes of any description, in penetrable and impenetrable areas in China, and among people whose customs and traditions they knew little about. And yet, on the other hand, their heart is peculiarly weak, compared with their religious zeal, in regard to political matters. Generally speaking, they tolerated what their governments did instead of resorting to the same uncompromising spirit of protest. They found shelter in the treaties which China was forced to sign. So long as the "toleration of Christianity was extorted from China by force in the same manner as opium traffic was legalized," there should be little wonder why the masses of Chinese people generally conceive of foreigners, foreign religion, and foreign culture, as barbarian. This would go a long way in explaining the hesitancy, the skepticism, and the repulsive attitude of the Chinese toward Western culture whatever excellent qualities it may possess, as an impartial student may see it to-day.

THE MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS OF NATIONALISM

Bearing in mind the Chinese psychological setting, we shall review briefly the development of nationalism in China for the last hundred years. We shall not discuss the development of the major historical events in themselves, but shall only point out their implications on nationalism, as the task of the former belongs to a writer on Chinese History.

The Opium War

The first major event was the opium war, dating from 1839 to 1842. Some attribute the conflict to the desire of the British

to secure better trading conditions in China and the determination on the part of China to limit foreign intercourse and to control foreign trade. But the issue at stake was the issue of opium traffic. Seeing that the traffic was a great social evil, and realizing that suppressing the habit itself was not sufficient, China determined to exterminate it from the source of entry by confiscating the opium and by contracting with the foreign traders so that they would not handle that drug any more. From the Chinese point of view, as has been previously presented, what China did was very reasonable. As it was not possible to settle the dispute by peaceful means, Britain settled it by means of war. The process of the war need not concern us here. China was defeated everywhere in spite of the fact that only small fractions of the British troops were engaged in the war. The treaty of peace at Nanking,—the first treaty China signed with the Western powers,* was followed by treaties with

* This treaty is commonly known as the Treaty of Nanking, signed on August 29, 1842. "By that treaty the obnoxious monopoly of the co-hong at Canton was abolished. That city and four others were opened to foreign residence and trade. Consuls were allowed to reside at these posts. A reasonable tariff was promised. Twenty-one million dollars were to be paid as indemnity, of which six millions were for the opium that had been destroyed, and Hong Kong was ceded to Great Britain. But the opium question remained unsettled." E. T. Williams, Op. Cit., p. 367.

America and France.

But what did China learn from that war? It did not teach her, as no war would, to respect the foreigner. Nor was that war critical enough to make her afraid of the Westerners. The Chinese government was still as unwilling as ever to have any dealings with Western peoples.‡ Open intercourse was looked

‡ E. T. Williams, Op. Cit., p. 370.

upon as something forced upon them. As Bau said, "As the first war was not decisive, the Chinese were not convinced that they were inferior to the Westerners, nor were they willing to welcome Western intercourse thus imposed upon them. They still cherished hopes of keeping Occidentals at a distance and indulged in thoughts of Oriental superiority."§

§ M. J. Bau, Foreign Relations of China, p. 9. Fleming H. Ravell, New York, 1922.

The War With Britain and France

Since China had not learned her lesson and the Powers had not accomplished all that they expected, the second war with Great Britain broke out in 1856. France also participated in it. To the British, the pretext for grievance was the disrespect shown to the British flag in the "Arrow" incident in Canton;

to the French, it was the execution of a French priest, August Chapdelaine, in Kwangsi.* In order to bring the lesson to the heart of China, the allies left Canton and proceeded to Tientsin. Since the Chinese government was not fully aware of the seriousness of the power which the Western world possessed, the French and British had to enter Peking in 1860 to demonstrate their ability by burning the celebrated palace, Yuan Ming Yuan, and by driving the emperor from his thrown as a fugitive. As a result, heavy indemnities were paid, more ports were opened for trade and better treaty terms were conceded. Now, although this had not yet taught the Chinese to respect the foreigner, it had taught them to begin to fear him. It taught them that it was impossible to close their doors and that the Westerners did certainly possess superior weapons of war.

* E. T. Williams, Op. Cit., p. 371. Also C. K. Wu, Op. Cit., p. 140-142.

1860 To 1900

For the four succeeding decades of Chinese history, from 1860 to 1900, foreign relations, one after another, repeated themselves in the same process as the Opium War or as the war with France and Great Britain. The process was simple. It started with a complaint about a Chinese infliction of injury upon the foreigners. The foreigners would demand redress in the form of indemnity, concessions, territory, or treaty privileges, and they almost always got their demands. Should the Chinese protest, the foreigners would resort to force. In such case, China had to suffer even greater consequences. As we look back on Chinese modern history, it seems that the course which China has taken was largely inevitable. China being what she was, and the temper of the Powers being what it was, China's destiny was very much determined. It really mattered little whether there were such issues as the confiscation of opium or the killing of missionaries, because the Powers would not have been satisfied without obtaining the open door, the concessions, the naval stations, the commercial privileges, extra-territoriality, and a low tariff wall. The preconceived ambitions of the foreigners were the mother of the conflicts and the chief factor that gave those incidents their magnified seriousness. Even without pretexts the Powers could obtain privileges. The United States obtained her treaty privilege in the "most favored nation" clause in 1844 without having first received damage. Many Powers were awaiting some opportune issue to arise for drastic action. For example, in 1899, "Italy demanded a naval station without even waiting for a missionary to be murdered."*

* Stephen King-Hall, Op. Cit., p. XXIV.

This period has been spoken of as the period of China's gradual loss of her dependencies. As Bau has pointed out: "During this period (1860-1895) China lost not less than nine dependencies,—the Liuchiu Islands to Japan in 1881, the Western part of Ili to Russia in 1881, Tongkin and Annam to France in 1885, Northern Burma to Great Britain in 1886, and Likkin to the same in 1890, and Korea, Formosa, and Pescadores to Japan in 1895."*

* M. J. Bau, Op. Cit., p. 18.

To the Chinese, the magnification of small issues of conflict and the annexation of her border lands indicated very clearly the "greediness" of the Powers. Approaching the end of the period there was real fear of the partition of the country. Desperate efforts were made to do something about it. The results were the Reform Movement of 1898 and the Boxer Insurrection of 1900, which will be discussed later.

While the conditions of this period have been sketched in a general way, the Taiping Rebellion and the Sino-Japanese War, both falling within the range of this period, still need to be discussed.

The "Taiping Rebellion"

During the period from 1850 to 1863, there was a widespread revolution in China known as the "Taiping Rebellion." The general discontent among the masses of people gave rise to this movement and the genuine disbelief in the Manchu government lent it its support. This discontentment and this disbelief are traceable to the consequences of the Opium War, because national finance was in great maladjustment owing to the opium traffic and the enormous indemnity paid and because the Manchu regime had demonstrated their unfitness to rule, in "their inability to control the western 'Barbarians' or to protect the Empire against foreign aggression." Bearing in mind the nature of dual-nationalism existent in China during the Tsing Dynasty, it was a nationalistic movement against the Manchus though not altogether uncorrelated with the Westerners. Indeed, it was a general mixed feeling of the people, with elements which could not very well be segregated, as it was a national complex. However, the center of attack was directed on the Manchus rather than on the Westerners. In the minds of many Chinese at that time, the Manchus were as much to blame as the Western Powers, if not more. It was not, perhaps, until after the fall of the Manchus that the Chinese realized that, even if they had been in control of the government at that time, they could not have escaped Western imperialism.

The fact that the revolution was able to control more than sixteen provinces in fourteen years, in spite of the alien religious

beliefs to which the movement claimed to adhere, is a good indication of the national sentiment, which was both intense and widespread. Although the revolution was finally brought under control, it did not at all mean that the Manchus regained their authority but was, rather, a postponement of their downfall. It rather revealed the weakness and helplessness of the Manchus in face of crisis, for it was Chinese and Western leadership that saved their situation. It showed that they were not only unable to control the "Barbarians" but also were themselves incapable of putting down a rebellion. The aftermath of this revolution—thirteen million lives lost, farms laid idle, revenues and taxes extracted, processes of production upset—brought about greater discontent, which, like any irritant, is favourable to the growth of antagonism against existing schemes of things in their foreign or domestic relationships.

The Sino-Japanese War

The next historical event which gave a new impetus to the development of nationalism in China was the Sino-Japanese War of 1895. If this study seems to lay too much stress on the significance of war, remember that there is nothing that affects life, individual life as well as group life, so much as war. It instantly destroys what took generations to produce and build up. In an agrarian society, the destruction of life, of property, of processes of production and of social stability take a long time to readjust.

Inasmuch as war threatens the very existence of life and of society itself, it is able to arouse the attention and emotions of many who might otherwise have been indifferent. This was the effect of the defeat in the war with Japan. It exposed more than anything else in the past had done, the most deplorable weaknesses of China—to be defeated by Japan, a small island kingdom which had once been China's tributary, a people of the same yellow stock whose culture owed its origin to China, a country which was known and was not strange to them as were the Western Powers, a nation which China had always looked down upon as insignificant. It showed at the same time the possibility of obtaining national strength of occidental quality if the nation so resolved. Thus the defeat was as great an open humiliation to China as it was a secret inspiration,*

* H. H. Gowan & J. W. Hall, an Outline History of China, p. 296. D. Appleton, New York, 1926.

giving China a strong incentive to radical reform and modernization as capitalized by the famous Reform of 1898.

The Boxer Insurrection

Hand in hand with the movement for modernization and Westernization was the movement for conservatism and rejection of alien culture and influence, both under the spur of

nationalism. The reform program under the leadership of Kang Yu-Wei and with the enthusiastic sponsorship of the Emperor Kwang Hsu, which lasted for a few months in 1898, was the expression of the former movement. The coup d'etat of Empress Tzu Hsi in September that year was an expression of the latter. The climax of the latter movement was crowned at the Boxer Insurrection in 1900. Like most of the patriotic societies at that time, the I Ho Chuan, popularly known as the Boxers, called by Gowan and Hall a kind of Chinese Ku Klux Klan, was anti-Manchu in its origin. Through the ingenious manipulation of the Empress, it was diverted wholly into an anti-foreign channel. With untainted patriotic enthusiasm and unwarranted ignorance of the world, almost anything disastrous is liable to happen. That is exactly what happened with the Boxer movement under Royal sanction. To be sure, that revolt was only sponsored by a very small group and was bitterly opposed by a much larger part of the country, and another one of such a nature would not happen again in China as such ignorance of the world has become apparent, though the spirit of opposition against foreign imposition, foreign domination, and foreign encroachment is still there. As a consequence of this blunder, even the most unredeemable chauvinists were taught that revenge upon the foreigners in China leads to a blind alley and is even disastrous to national salvation. Conservatism gave way, again, to liberalism. Modernization launched onward after that day, sometimes questioned, but seldom molested.

The Russo-Japanese War

The Russo-Japanese war had a very great effect upon the development of Chinese nationalism. If the Sino-Japanese War and the Boxer uprising had not sufficiently convinced the Chinese of the necessity for modernization or Westernization, and if there was still any hesitancy in reform, the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 certainly converted them to the belief in the wisdom of this course. The victory of the Japanese over the Russians showed that the Western tactics of warfare can be acquired if a nation will so resolve: in this case even the shortest of the Orient was able to defeat the tallest of the Occident. Thus in the darkest moments of Chinese history there came a beam of light, a star of hope, challenging the leaders of the nation to more fervent efforts in the cause of national salvation. Perhaps it is correct to say that there is no period in Chinese history in the last hundred years where the government has made greater efforts and accomplished greater results than in the years immediately after the Russo-Japanese War. It was unfortunate, in a way, that its progress was interrupted by the Revolution of 1911.

The 1911 Revolution

The revolution of October, 1911 succeeded not only in overthrowing a monarchy and establishing in its place a republic,

but also in overthrowing the Manchus as rulers and placing in their stead a government by the Chinese. It was a nationalist movement. In fact, the incentive and the support for this revolutionary movement as well as the celebration of the new form of government by the populace were centered on the sentiment of the restoration of Chinese sovereignty rather than on the sentiment of representative government, for it was the meaning of the former and not the latter that the people understood clearly. One may recall the popular sign of the celebration of the birth of the Republic in those days bearing these words, "Celebration for Restoration", meaning the restoration of the Ming Dynasty, which at once illustrates the sentiment of nationalism as its basis.

The Early Years of the Republic

The installation of the Republic apparently released much energy that had formerly been restrained. Its early years were, therefore, a period of optimism, for now the oppressors of two hundred and sixty-seven years were overthrown and the ruling house responsible for the humiliating history of Modern China, as the Chinese at that time liked to think of it, was expelled. Now China was a republic, a western political institution, with the recognition of the Powers. There were great hopes and faith, unwarranted as we see it to-day, in the democratic form of government, and a belief that the world was most friendly to and had been made safe for democracy. Dual-nationalism, which existed in the Tsing Dynasty, was not only transformed but was also subsided under the spur of this optimism. Being a novice in the republican form of government, China was most cordial and receptive to Western culture. In the presence of national hope and optimism and in the absence of national fear and irritations, the growth of nationalism lacked a proper setting.

The World War

Such a state of mind was upset by the World War. The first shock to the Chinese was the "Twenty-one Demands" which the Japanese government imposed upon China in 1915 at an opportune time when the European Powers were engaged in war. To say the least, the demands, if put into effect, would have made China a Japanese Protectorate. The ultimatum sent to China on May 7, demanding a satisfactory reply within thirty-six hours aroused the whole nation to great indignation. Anti-Japanese feeling was intense. Japanese goods were boycotted throughout the whole country. Since that day, the masses of people in China have always been on special guard against Japanese aggression. That crisis truly gave a great impetus to the development of nationalism in China. Although Japan was not able to obtain the special privileges enlisted in the document, which was signed by the Peking Government,

May Seventh is still observed all over China as the day of the greatest "National Humiliation."

The World War also revealed Western diplomacy to the Chinese in a highly unfavorable light. In "devilizing" the enemy, the contestant Powers of the West incidentally taught China during her days of neutrality from 1914 to 1916 a darker aspect of Western civilization. Through the experience of being induced to join the Allies and through participation in the Peace Conference, she was able to see more clearly than ever before in her diplomatic intercourse the elements of unscrupulousness, hypocrisy, and injustice possible among the Great Powers. The high hopes, the naïve faith, and the optimism the Chinese had formerly entertained were turned into despair, distrust, and pessimism. Such pessimism was evidently increased by the internal disorder of civil war and militarism.

In the meantime, China discovered that she had popular national sentiment on which she could fall back. The boycott against Japanese goods in protest against the Twenty-one Demands became so effective that it was a demonstration not only of how co-operative the Chinese can be when the situation arises and when public opinion is mobilized but also of how the instrument of boycotting, based upon the tremendous aggregate consumptive capacity of the Chinese, can be a real weapon of passive resistance.* The nation-wide mass movements led by

* H. H. Gowen & W. J. Hall, Op. Cit., p. 415-417.

the student movement on May 4, 1919, as a protest against the signing of the Versailles Treaty was another evidence of China's hope. The effectiveness of the protests not only encouraged the people's further interest in national problems but also won back for them the self-confidence which had for decades been nullified and intimidated.

The Chinese Renaissance

The New Thought movement, though instituted under democratic aspirations, has had a tremendous effect upon the development of nationalism in China. It began as a literary revolution, but it grew into a popular movement for the "transvaluation of all values." It liberated intelligence for facing larger issues than personal welfare, and turned the people's attention to social and political problems of the Chinese social order. It influenced all existing institutions in China—family, sex, religion, education, government, and international relations. It elevated the quality and dignity of popular sentiment which China counted upon so much in the decade to follow. Finally, it created new leaders and a new intellectual center in the Peking National University and its personnel, which meant a great deal to several subsequent national

movements such as the Student Movement of 1919 and the Anti-Christian Movement of 1922.

The Kuomintang

The Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist Party, has long been a salient factor in the development of nationalism in China. Since its reorganization in 1923 it has been able to promote the nationalist movement with much greater success. With the admission of the Chinese Communist Party and co-operation with Soviet Russia from 1924 to 1927, the movement was marked with a distinct purpose, a highly organized body and a tense spirit. For our purpose, it is not necessary to differentiate between the Kuomintang influence and the Communist influence during that period, even if it were possible. Their united efforts were to arouse national-consciousness of the people, to unify the country, and to protest against capitalistic imperialism. The elements in the population which they especially counted upon were the workers, peasants, students, and soldiers. The national appeals to these groups were all successful. It is in this period of Chinese history that the spirit of nationalism really permeates through the proletariat and the masses of people. "Down with Imperialism," "Down with the Militarists," "Abolish the Unequal Treaties," "Restore Tariff Autonomy," "Exterminate Extra-Territoriality," etc., have not only been slogans of the Kuomintang, but have also become slogans of the people.

Sun Yat-Sen's death in 1925 and the May 30 incident of the same year created circumstances most favorable to the growth of nationalism. As a result of the nationalist movement of this period, the country was, internally, once more unified both in political structure and in political thinking, and, externally, it was able to change much of the superiority and presumptuous disposition of the foreigners in China. Even the long-standing sign-board in front of a public park in the Shanghai Settlement, which read "Chinese and dogs are not allowed to come in," had to be removed. Surely it was a triumph of nationalism.

The Nationalist Government

Since the establishment of the Nationalist Government in Nanking, nationalism has been enjoying favorable development. It has succeeded to a greater extent than before in co-ordinating the national thinking and feelings of the people with the government. The prestige of the government is beginning to grow, which compensates and promotes the spirit of nationalism. In her diplomatic relations, China has been able to actually accomplish tariff autonomy, to restore certain of her concessions and leased territories such as the British concession in Chin Kiang, the leased territory of Weihaiwei, the Belgian Concession in Tientsin, and other concessions under negotiation, and to

make some progress in the abolition of extra-territoriality.*

* C. T. Wang, "China's Foreign Relations in 1930 Reviewed," Chinese Affairs, Nanking, December 31, 1930.

Although some of the factors that account for China's diplomatic success were due to changes outside the influence of the Chinese situation, such as the coming of the Labor Party into power in England, the facts remain that the firmness and soundness of position which the Chinese Nationalist Government takes against foreign infringement upon Chinese sovereignty, unequalled by her predecessors in government, well deserve her accomplishments, which are also unequaled by her preceding modern history. There is now a glimpse of optimism in China. But if enthusiasm and the spirit of struggle fade away in face of apparent optimism, and if the spirit of nationalism is simply built on the principles of protest, antagonism, and destruction, instead of also around the ideals of a new state, a dignified people, and a program of national building, the gradual removal of the irritants centered around the slogans of the earlier nationalistic days, as will in time happen, may result in the return to backwardness, degradation, and despair.

A Summary of the Development of Nationalism in China

In summing up the development of nationalism in modern China, it may be convenient to divide it into four periods: 1838 to 1900, 1900 to 1911, 1911 to 1919, and 1919 to the present (1930). During the first two periods, there was a dual-nationalism, nationalism with the Manchus as the object on the one hand, and with the Powers as the object on the other. That complicating sentiment entered into its single track in the last two periods after the fall of the Tsing Dynasty.

The first period from 1838 to 1900 may be called a period of national-semi-consciousness or partial awakening. It was semi-concious because China did not realize sufficiently her position in the world. She was half-hearted or went only half way in her desire to learn from the West. Even as late as the end of the nineteenth century, the suppression of the Reform movement and the sanction of the Boxer movement indicated the lack of understanding of the West and the lack of appreciation of the seriousness of her position in the world. Her awakening was also partial because it was limited to a small group of leaders of public life, the leading intelligentsia and the officials, or to the portion of the population which had been actually affected by the irritations of foreign aggressions. But in general the mental state of the Chinese was undergoing a change in regard to the Western nations, Western culture and Western peoples, a change from a state of indifference and superiority to a state

of annoyance, hatred, fear, mystery, wonder, bewilderment, anxiety, and not infrequently a mental complex of their varying compositions.

The second period may be said to have begun right after the defeat by Japan in 1895. It was, however, not until the consequences of the Boxer insurrection in 1900 that China was determined to modernize herself. The Russo-Japanese war in 1905 confirmed their wisdom in adopting the plan for modernization and their doubled effort in this direction. It was in this period from 1900 to 1911 that one can say that China had really awakened enough to find herself. Nationalism was not limited to a small group of leaders, but was shared by the upper class as well as by the intellectual class. The element of anxiety was prevalent. Self-confidence was greatly impaired. But instead of holding aloof from the outside world with a feeling of fear and hatred, the period was one of imitation, receptiveness, assimilation, and admiration of Western culture, especially Western technology and education.

The third period from 1912 to 1919 is more or less an extension of the preceding period, except that the birth of the Republic in 1911 released much suppressed energy. It was a period of considerable optimism. In the early part, especially, the country was full of hope over the republican form of government which captured much of the attention of the people. The attitude toward the powers was a friendly one as there was the feeling that China had joined the "family of nations" after having been baptized in the name of democracy or parliamentarianism. In this period it was the middle class that showed greater attachment to the ideals of nationalism.

Since 1919, China has entered into a period of great political pessimism with the spirit of revolt. She learned through her experience with the World War, that the world was not so friendly toward her as she had thought. Her increased knowledge of Western history and international politics also convinced her that the world is made of stiffer stuff. Skepticism towards the capitalistic powers grew, reenforced by the friendly gestures of the Soviet Government and the collaboration of the Communist Party. The Renaissance Movement increased the yearning for liberty and freedom: the increased discontent as a result of internal turmoil and civil war intensified the temper for revolt. Better means of mobilizing national sentiment, better methods of expression, and a better knowledge of the outside world, increased the reaction to national irritants and national issues. Nationalism has, at last, reached the masses of people which were but scarcely concerned in the previous periods. Through some success in internal struggle for unity and external struggle for sovereignty, national self-confidence, which had been vanishing since the Opium War, began to reappear. Such

success suggests an optimism which, if undisturbed, may mark the transition into another new period of Chinese nationalism.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the psychological process which the Chinese Nation has been going through is a very natural process. Many a Chinese has gone through a similar psychological process in his personal experience with the West, its people and its culture. Learning through personal or vicarious experience the violence of the foreigner, he first began to avoid him, to despise him and to hate him. After realizing the consequences, he soon learned to fear him. Then there was considerable turmoil in his mind, mingled with wonder and mystery for what the foreigner could do which he could not. In the course of time, realizing the difference between the vitality of his culture and the foreign culture in modern life, the latter won his admiration. He imitated. Self-confidence gradually disappeared. Under the inspiration of success and after finding his way in Western culture, his optimism and hope came in. But his optimism could not last long, because no sooner did he entertain that optimism than he met the world of actuality where, no matter what he might accomplish, he was handicapped by the status of a Chinese with their bondage principally unshaken. Pessimism certainly lasted for some time. Protests followed. Therein lies the path for the fuller development of his personality. It is not to suggest here a theory of recapitulation, but simply to indicate that when Chinese culture and Western culture are what they are, when contacts are generally made in the manner in which they are made, and when the social situations are such as exist, the Chinese as an individual behaves somewhat like the Chinese as a nation or as a social organism. The national experience of China was but a natural outcome of her circumstances.

CHAPTER II

NATIONALISM IN THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

In an analysis of nationalism in school education in China, we shall begin with an examination of the aims of education as promulgated by decrees and as revealed in outstanding educational documents and popular educational writings. Each will interest us in the present study in so far as it bears upon the problems of nationalism. The period under consideration will be from 1862 to the present time. This will be sub-divided into four periods: 1862 to 1900, 1901 to 1911, 1912 to about 1922, and about 1922 to the present (1930). Such a division is, of course, arbitrary and varies somewhat from the periods considered in the preceding chapter on the development of Chinese nationalism, but it serves the purpose of this present analysis better than other groupings.*

* Cf. Wang Fung-Chiai, Outlines of History of Education in China, p. 313. Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai. 1930. (In Chinese.)

It is quite obvious that when a study of the aims of education is confined to the aims as promulgated by decrees and as shown by educational writings, one is examining a very narrow aspect of education. However, this is a self-limitation, both deliberate and intentional, as the wider aspects of the problem will be illustrated and supplemented by later chapters treating on the curriculum, textbooks, students, teachers, and private schools.

THE FIRST PERIOD (1862-1900)

The period from 1862 to 1900 is unique from the standpoint of nationalism in that it marks a great struggle for the adoption of Western learning with battles won and lost, and won and lost again, because of the conflicting objectives of nationalism that were dominant at that time. Nationalism at this stage took a unique form, as we shall see from the kinds of schools established and from the prevailing ideas in educational thinking of the day. Two camps of nationalism entered into the struggle. They had likenesses and fundamental differences. For example, they were alike in that they both had a strong passion for a strong and dignified China and a great respect for Chinese culture. But they differed in their outlook on the world and in their estimation of the value of Western learning. While the stage was finally occupied by those who favored the adoption of Western learning, the underlying issues that constituted the

early conflicts have not altogether disappeared even up to the present day.

The founding of the Language Institute (Tung Wen Kuan) in Peking in 1862 marked the inauguration of Western learning in China. Thus 1862 may be taken as the beginning of the first period, which concludes in 1900 with the Boxers Uprising. This period is significant, not, however, because a new system of schools was adopted or because new aims of education were promulgated. The old system of schools was in force with its structure the same as it had been before 1862, and, in fact, as it had been for over twelve centuries, since the Tang dynasty. With the exception of the decrees for reform in 1898, which provided for a nation-wide establishment of modern schools and which enjoyed a short life of only a few months, and with the exception of a small number of new schools occasionally or privately introduced, the only system of schools in this period was the old system of Classics-Schools, capitalized by the system of civil service examinations. The period was significant, however, because the national consciousness or the self-consciousness of the nation was revealed at every turn of the educational problem, owing to the sudden contact with this new dynamic and stimulating civilization, which had come so suddenly, and yet was so different and strange. This period is significant also because it shows how China tried to grasp and interpret Western civilization. Brief though the account must be in the present discussion, it embraces a period of almost four decades.

Though no aims for the new education as such were formulated during this period, it would be far from correct to assume that the new schools that were established in it were aimless or purposeless. An analysis of the types of new schools reveals the aims which may seem to be lacking. The table on the following page lists the most important of them.*‡

* Cf. Tao Chih-Hsing, "History of the Development of the Modern School System in China," p. 1. General Survey of Modern Education in China, edited by Shu Hsin-Cheng. Chung Hwa Book Co., Shanghai, 1930. (In Chinese.)

‡ Cf. Wang Fung-Chiai, Op. Cit., p. 314.

From the table it is noticeable that foreign language, technology, and armaments constituted the chief features of the new schools. Thus the first thirty years of the adoption of Western civilization clearly reveal the emphasis on the new education. While the core of the new schools may already show their nationalistic nature, a further examination into the purpose of these schools will bring the nationalistic implication of the educational aims more clearly into the foreground. Therefore, we shall now consider the purposes for the establishment of the language schools, technical schools, and military schools.

TABLE 1

Table Showing the More Important Educational Institutions Established from 1860 to 1900

YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT	NAME OF SCHOOL	NATURE	PLACE OF ESTABLISHMENT
1862	Peking Tung Wen Institute	Foreign Language	Peking
1863	Shanghai Language Institute.....	Foreign Language	Shanghai
1864	Kwangtung Tung Wen Institute ...	Foreign Language	Canton
1866	Fukien Ship Building Academy	Ship Building	Fukien
1867	Shanghai Mechanic Academy.....	Mechanics	Shanghai
1879	Tientsin Academy of Telegraphy ...	Telegraphy	Tientsin
1880	Tientsin Naval Academy.....	Navy	Tientsin
1884	Tientsin Military Academy.	Military	Tientsin
1886	Kwangtung Naval Academy	Navy	Canton
1889	Pei-Yang University.....	Law and Engineering	Tientsin
1893	Tsu Chiang Academy	Language Science Mathematics Commerce	Wuchang
1894	Hu-Pei Military Academy	Military	Hupei
1895	Pei-Yang Western Academy	Language Science Mathematics Commerce	Tientsin
1896	Nan-Yang Public Academy.....	Teacher Training Technology Political Science	Shanghai
1897	Hunan Modern Academy	Public Law History Mathematics Science	Hunan
1898	Peking Imperial University.....	Law, Classics, Science, and five other departments	Peking

Let it be noticed, first of all, that the teaching of foreign language does not necessarily imply any nationalistic motive. The impetus for teaching foreign language in the schools of the United States, for instance, does not depart from the educational values which their educational authorities have attributed to it, namely, commercial, social, cultural, linguistic, and disciplinary.*‡

* See Alexander J. Inglis, Principles of Secondary Education, p. 452. Boston, 1918.

‡ See J. A. Clement, Curriculm Making in Secondary Schools, p. 402. New York, 1923.

In fact, advocates of internationalism have even suggested that one of the purposes of teaching foreign languages should be to create an international understanding which would facilitate international co-operation and quicken international brotherhood.

Remembering this, we can apprehend a little more clearly the nationalistic implications of the purposes of foreign language teaching in China as it expressed itself then. For example, the report which the Tsungli Yamen (then functioning as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) sent to the Emperor in 1862 concerning the establishment of the Language Institute states: "In order to understand the conditions of the other countries, and *not to be deceived by them*, we must know their languages, both written and spoken. . . . And as China has up to this day no one who has learned foreign languages thoroughly, we are afraid that we have no way of knowing *what the foreign countries are all about.*"*

* Shu Hsin-Cheng, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China, Vol. I, p. 7. Chung Hwa Book Company, Shanghai, 1929. (In Chinese.)

Li Hung Chang, in his petition for an additional language school, said: "In order to obtain a balanced view and to have fair dealings with the oceaners (foreigners), we have first to understand their purpose and desire and to know thoroughly their *fictitiousness from substantiality, honesty from deceit.* . . . The establishment of the Language Institute in Peking is an excellent plan. After its continued operation for a certain length of time, scholars of manliness, virtue, ability and alertness will certainly spring up from its midst. *We shall then obtain all the essentials of the westerners and devise measures to harness them. Wherein lies the source of peace and order at our borders.*‡

‡ Shu Hsin-Cheng, A History of Modern Educational Thought in China, p. 23-25. Chung Hwa Book Company, Shanghai, 1929. (In Chinese.)

Ma Chen Chung, author of a very famous work on Chinese grammar, in his proposal for a Translation School began with this paragraph: "It seems to me that China of to-day is being

meanly taken advantage of by the foreigners to an unbearable degree. Since the latter part of Tao Kuang's reign, they contracted treaties and tariff rates with us, using the same mean methods to treat us as they had been employing in other countries of the East. Consequently, their ministers . . . impose upon our government, their consuls rudely block our seaports to oppose our officials, their traders of large and small business occupy the concessions to extract from our labor and trade, their missionaries of various sects scatter all over our interior to disillusion our people. *They venture to do all these things, fictitiously, and ruthlessly, because they take advantage of the fact that we do not know their truth and falsehood, their pretense and substantiality.*"*

* Shu Hsin-Cheng, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China, Vol. IV., p. 135. (In Chinese.)

It is quite evident, therefore, that the aim for establishing the language schools was for a national purpose, surrounded by mixed feelings and desires—the feeling of having been cheated and trodden upon because of the ignorance of foreign languages, the desire to detach the substantiality from the pretense of foreign power, and the anxiety to learn the secrets of power. Such a purpose is far removed from the cultural, vocational, linguistic and disciplinary purposes in the teaching of foreign language in the West.

The technical schools and the military and naval schools, though very different and distinct institutions to-day, were treated as two aspects of the same thing by the Chinese of that period. Therefore, we shall discuss them together under the common term "Military-Technical Education" which has been used by other Chinese writers.‡

‡ Chen Chi-Tien, "A short History of the Movement of Modern Educational Thought in China," p. 24. General Survey of Modern Education in China, 1930. (In Chinese.)

It would be superfluous to show that the purpose and aims for the establishment of military and naval academies bore the stamp of nationalism. On the contrary, it would be difficult to prove otherwise. The present attempt is to show that the technical schools as well as the technical subjects in other types of schools are inseparably related to military preparation. Once such an inter-relation between technology and military preparation has been pointed out, the nationalistic accent of the former will be obvious.

In the Petition to the Emperor filed by the Tsungli Yamen (then functioning as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) in 1867, proposing the matriculation of students in the study of astronomy and mathematics, is this statement: "There is nothing in the manufacturing of machines, firearms, or in the

operation of steamships and trains by the foreigners that does not come from mathematics....It is proposed that an additional school be established. . . . We shall employ Westerners to teach in the school in order that astronomy and mathematics will be thoroughly perceived in their very foundations. . . . If we can concentrate to exhaust all their essence, therein lies for China the way to attain national power by self-determination."‡ Thus even the study of astronomy was given nationalistic values.

‡ Shu Hsin-Cheng, A History of Modern Educational Thought in China. p. 41. (In Chinese.)

Also, Li Hung-Chang's petition, proposing the establishment of the first military academy in Tientsin in 1885, stated: "In Western countries, they made improvement upon improvement in their military and naval science. . . . Unless we can exhaust all the expertness of our enemy, we can never control their destiny. Therefore, if we want to speak of military preparation at this present day we must employ the same technique which they use to attack us. . . . But military science of the West is based upon astronomy, mathematics, charting and geography, and science. . . . Therefore, as soon as the financial provisions are adequate we shall establish a separate school and select the young from good families to be educated there first . . . so that they will be ready to defend the country against foreign attacks."*

* Shu, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China. Vol. I, pp. 12-13. (In Chinese.)

It is clear that the establishment of these new schools in that period was for the purpose of becoming a strong national power. Such an attainment was dependent upon a strong army and navy, which in turn were dependent upon the study of science, mathematics, shipbuilding, and various forms of technology.‡ Thus these subjects were looked upon as

‡ Tao Chih-Hsing, "History of the Development of the Modern School System in China," p. 1. General Survey of Modern Education in China. (In Chinese.)

instrumentalities for the production and improvement of armament and not as pure academic interest. Even the majority of the books translated also reveal such an aim.§

§ Shu Hsin-Cheng, A History of Modern Educational Thought in China, p. 51. (In Chinese.)

Thus nationalism, around the objective of power, was the real purpose of these new schools.

In commenting on the education of the same period, Shu Hsin-Cheng, author of "History of Modern Educational Thought in China;" said: "Since the Nanking Treaty almost everything has been handicapped by foreign control. The counsellors of

the nation knew that it was not an accident that the foreigners had defeated us. It was due to the fact that they were backed up by superior weapons and better trained soldiers. If China was determined to attain power, it was certain that no arbitrary diplomats of ability could bring China to that end; in order to achieve that goal we had to employ the same techniques with which people attacked us. . . . Therefore, during that period . . . military preparation became the center of educational thinking. Whether it was the sending of students abroad or the establishment of schools, the aim was to prepare and improve the fighting force."*

* Ibid., pp. 38-40.

Aside from the type of schools that were established during this period, the aim of school education may also be seen from another angle. In so far as training of talents for the sake of talent may be called individualism, the training of talents principally for national ends may be called nationalism. In China at that time the new education was for the gifted, the talented only. These gifted ones had to go through rigid processes of selection.

Tao Chih-Hsing's comment on education of that period from the standpoint of democracy may illustrate indirectly the spirit of education: "In the early period of the new schools, education for only those who had exceptional ability was all that people then conceived. To educate the capable to meet the difficulties of the times was the consensus of opinion of the promoters of education in that period. Both the ideas expressed by people like Li Tuen-Fang, Sun Chia-Nei, Shen Hsuen-Hwei and Tang Hua-Hsi, and the system adopted at that time, illustrate that the attention of that period was on education for the capable only."* Whether Tao's implied

* Tao Chih-Hsing, "History of the Development of the Modern School System in China," p. 2. General Survey of Modern Education in China. (In Chinese.)

criticism was fair or not, the fact was true. The nation was decidedly the major premise in all matters of education.

Thus, in this period, there was an earnest desire to use modern education consciously as an instrument for national power, as a gigantic project to bring about national strength and wealth after repeated defeat and increased poverty. Whatever type of education was introduced or instituted was under one common impetus, and with the same object and belief that "this is the way to attain national power and wealth." Practically no important document was written or no institution was established without that consciousness and that objective. As such spirit was engendered by defeat and by foreign pressure, it is not difficult to see the spirit of nationalism in the educational aims and thought. As Shu Hsin-Cheng has said: "Since the

opening of contacts with Europe and America in the Tsing Dynasty, foreign relationships have never been successful; the situation has been growing even more disastrous since 1894. The counsellors of the nations have always worked . . . for the attainment of national strength in self-determination. Although their policies have not been stated as policies of nationalism, all their programs have evidently been treading along that path."*

* Shu Hsin-Cheng, A History of Modern Educational Thought in China, p. 324. (In Chinese.)

While it is true that every one responsible for the affairs of the state at that time agreed in their general anxiety for national power, they differed tremendously regarding the value and place of Western learning. While there were none in that period, as there are to-day, who went any way near the extreme in proposing wholesale Westernization, or even whole-hearted acceptance of Western culture, there were numerous persons who stood at the other extreme of complete rejection. There were many who held the golden mean and who finally came to this formula: "Chinese learning as foundation and Western learning as instrument." In order to visualize how real the conflict was between these different ideas and what nationalistic implication it had, let us direct our attention to four outstanding phases.

First, to learn from the foreigner and from foreign culture was looked upon by scholars as national disgrace. Here are the direct words of a leading opponent. In a petition to the Emperor, which opposed the institution of the School of Astronomy and Mathematics, Wei Jen said: "The principle for the maintenance of a state rests on propriety and righteousness and not on force and tactics. Its foundation lies in the hearts of men and not on technology and science. Now they propose to seek after the minute details of a science and to uphold foreigners as masters. We need not go so far as to question whether the studies proposed would necessarily be thoroughly learned. Granted the teacher diligently teaches and the learner diligently learns, it can not accomplish more than the production of a few mathmeticians. I have never heard that by depending upon the methods of calculation weakness can be turned into strength and defeat into victory. . . . The value of astronomy and mathematics is very small; the harm of employing foreigners as teachers in preparing those who will fill the government offices is very great."*

* Kuang Fu-Chih, A Biography of Wei Jen. (In Chinese.)

Second, the tension of the struggle of the opponents may be seen in the two outstanding counter-reform measures of the opponents when they got into power. One was the recall

of the student mission from the United States in 1881 before their training was completed;‡§ the other was the return to

‡ Yung Wing, "My Life in China and America," Ch. XIV. New York, 1909.

§ See also Chapter Five, Nationalism and Students, of the present study.

the "eight-legged" type of examination and the extermination of the program for the wide establishment of modern schools in the latter part of 1898.†

† Wang Fung-Chiai, Op. Cit., p. 317.

The majority of the leaders in government were hostile to Westernization. As a writer said, "With the exception of a few enlightened individuals, those in the Imperial Court took an opposing attitude, considering the imitation of the West disgraceful.¶ In attacking that attitude as early as 1866

¶ Ibid., p. 315.

Prince Kung said, "They do not examine clearly . . . and hold that it is wrong to leave the Chinese way to pursue the western; worse still, some consider that for the Chinese to learn from the West and under the Westerners would be a great disgrace."*

* Shu, Source Book, Vol. I, p. 8.

Third, there was a general belief in the superiority of the Chinese culture. This is most obvicusly seen in two respects. In the first place, any form of culture in the West was believed to owe its origin to China. Believing in it genuinely or not, in order to put through their program, those who wanted to introduce Western learning had to point out its pre-existence in China to their nationals. The following quotation is representative of this point of view:

> "The best in Western learning owes its origin to China. Their religion owes its origin to the teachings of Mo Tsu . . . their methods of foreign trade and military training are largely based upon the teachings of Kuan-Tsu; most of their principles of government are similar to the Rites of Chau . . . and their studies in weight, light, steam, chemistry, physics, etc., are found scattered throughout our literature of the Dynasties of Chau and Chin. . . . Therefore, Western science cannot escape the all-inclusiveness of our literature."‡

‡ Shu, Source Book, Vol. I, p. 19.

Again, Chinese culture was looked upon as the center of learning. The consensus of opinion was that the Chinese language must be the foundation of learning, Chinese culture the basis, and Chinese ethics the standard of living. As has been pointed out before, the principle was to have "Chinese learning

as the body and Western learning as the tool." That Chinese culture was superior was taken for granted. Even Japan was criticised for imitating the West at the expense of her native culture. Such an attitude is clear in a statement like this: "China, with a history of five thousand years, with perpetuation of sages and saints undisturbed, and with illuminating progress in government and religion, shall never be like Japan, which deserts her own field to cultivate those of others."*

* Quoted In Tao Chih-Hsing, "History of the Development of the Modern School System in China," p. 1. General Survey of Modern Education in China. (In Chinese.)

Fourth, we have to see the subtleness of the retentive spirit, which the reformers could not see. Chinese educators and Chinese society were so used to the purpose and method of the old learning that Western science was studied with the same purpose and method as the old classics were studied under the old examination system.‡ It is not too much to say that

‡ Shu Hsin-Cheng, A History of Modern Educational Thought in China, pp. 78-9. (In Chinese.)

deep in the hearts of the reformers, the whole-hearted determination for reform was lacking§ partly because of their fond-

§ Wang Fung-Chiai, Op. Cit., p. 315.

ness for the Chinese culture in which they were brought up and partly because of the fact that the nature of Western learning was not known but was only speculated.

The extent of consciousness of the need for Western education was confined chiefly to the official and highly intellectual classes. In 1892, thirty years after the government had begun translations of foreign books, it was reported that only 13,000 copies of these books had been sold.* Being limited by the

* Tao Shun-Sheng, Source Book of Chinese History of the Last Hundred Years, Vol. II, p. 502. Chung Hwa Book Co., Shanghai, 1928. (In Chinese.)

undeveloped facilities of communication in writing and travelling on the one hand, and by the long tradition of monarchical government where only the leaders are responsible for the welfare of the state on the other, such a phenomenon was to be expected.

THE SECOND PERIOD (1901-1911)

The decade from 1901 to 1911 is taken as the second period of modern education in China. The inauguration of the period might be dated as late as 1903, when a new system of schools on a nation-wide scale was actually installed. Or it might be dated as early as 1898, when the decree for educational reform

was first tried out, or even 1894 when proposals for nation-wide educational reform were introduced. The writer considers it more proper to date it at 1901 as it was after the consequences of the Boxer uprising that the reactionaries were finally convinced and that the new educational reform was launched in the spirit which characterizes the educational program of the ten years to follow. This does not deny, however, the close relation it has with the earlier efforts. The termination of this period in 1911, the year when the Tsing Dynasty was over-thrown, is but natural and appropriate.

The aims of education for this period were clearly stated. In 1906, the Emperor decreed the aims of education which were proposed by the Ministry of Education. To summarize, these were: "To inculcate loyalty to the Emperor, reverence for Confucius, and to promote the public spirit, the military spirit, and the realistic spirit." The nationalistic implications of the aims will be seen in the statements of interpretation in its original proposal, "Petition for the Proclamation of Aims of Education" by the Ministry of Education.*

* Shu, Source Book, Vol. II, pp. 96-102.

However interesting an analysis of the document may be, it must be confined to the nationalistic implications. The first two aims were for the presentation of two major national institutions, the Tsing dynasty and Confucian culture, which in the West may be spoken of as the institutions of State and Church. The last three aims were for the remedy of three Chinese inefficiencies: Selfishness, physical weakness, and intellectual vagueness. In the document, constant reference was made to the national spirit in education in other countries, especially in Germany and in Japan.

The first of these aims—that of cultivating loyalty to the Emperor—was, partly, the method by which the dynasty was to be kept undisturbed in spite of the adoption of Western education which had engendered considerable spirit of revolution. That purpose of the aim does not concern us here. Another purpose was to personify the nation in terms of the emperor, that is, to associate and identify the nation's experience and aspirations with those of the emperor, so that "every one . . . shall take the cheer and sorrow in the Emperor's heart as indications of the glory and disgrace of the whole nation." This was deemed necessary, as the people in the rural areas "were not conscious of what may concern the joy and sorrow of the nation."

The purpose of the aim of reverence to Confucius was to perpetuate the historical continuity, to conserve the principles of Chinese culture, and to "solidify the hearts of men through increased reverence for the national religion."

The aim to cultivate the spirit of public-mindedness was under the stimulation of the fact that in each of the Powers, the whole nation was united through the medium of education. To quote again from the document: "In China not only do provinces maintain impediments against one another, but also the districts, the counties, the villages, the families, and the clans. . . . It is therefore proposed that there is nothing in moral education more urgent than this: to make everyone treat others as himself, and to love the country as he loves his family."* Such an aim certainly has a strong emphasis on "national mindedness."

* Shu, Source Book, Vol. II, pp. 96-102.

The aim to cultivate the military spirit is obviously nationalistic. In order to make the aims in education in the later periods clearer, it is feasible to illustrate what the author of these aims had in mind. He said: "What is meant by the spirit of militarism? In the nations of the East and the West all the people in the country are soldiers. . . . No matter whether they are in school, in the camp, or on the parade grounds, the atmosphere is always as if they were facing a battle. When a command is given, they dare not stop whether it be in dangerous mountain passes, ice, snow, or cutting cold, nor would they dare to escape even should it result in death from hunger, cold, drowning, or falling. And yet there is no one in the whole country, old or young, man or woman, who does not take pleasure in enlisting oneself in the army or take it as glory to die in war. . . . If China adopts their principle and carries it out vigorously, through unconscious assimilation day in and day out and month in and month out, what is acquired will become second nature. If so, our ancient principle which dates prior to the Three Dynasties (4,000 years ago) that everyone knows how to participate in war may be revived." This aim marks the beginning of education for military citizenship in China. Proposals were also made to nationalize (meaning to make Nationalistic) the curriculum and textbooks.

By the last aim mentioned—that of promoting the "Realistic Spirit"—several things are implied. In the curriculum, science, handwork, drawing, industries and vocational training, which may be called "industrial pursuits" are implied; in method, experimentation in science, demonstration in teaching, illustrations in textbooks, and emphasis on problems of daily life, are implied. In so far as the desire to develop science and industry in order to bring about wealth to the nation underlay the setting of this aim, its nationalistic implications were insignificant. Reactions and results from such emphasis in education, however, might indirectly affect the degree and extent of national consciousness and national character.

Several characteristics of the educational thinking and educational projects of this period are important from the standpoint of nationalism: the determination, the number to be educated, dual nationalism, and imitation versus pride.

The anxiety and determination for the attainment of power in the educational projects of this period are compatible to the nationalistic tension of the stated aims of education, especially the tension as seen in the extracts from the original document. The writer calls this determination that for the attainment of national power instead of for "reform" or for "modernization" because the former was the real cause and the motivating drive for the change. The anxiety and determination are seen in the abrupt abolition of the old school and the civil service examination system in effect in 1905, the merits and demerits of which had not been thoroughly analyzed, and the nation-wide installation of a new education system about which little was known.* The determination is seen also in

* Hu Shih, "The Chinese Renaissance," p. 16-7. Bulletins on Chinese Education, issued by the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, 1923.

the remarkable progress made as indicated by the increased school enrolment,‡ which no period in the Republic has

‡ See Chuang Chai-Hsuan, "The New Education in China in the last Thirty Years," How to Make the New Education Chinafied, pp. 4-5. Min Chi Book Company, Shanghai, 1929. (In Chinese.)

paralleled.

The new system aimed to provide education for all regardless of social status and regardless of sex. While this may seem to imply democracy in a way, we must not forget the purpose that was really behind it. The conception of the education of boys and girls because they were personalities and should be given a chance for development was totally beyond their comprehension. Education was for the welfare of the state and not for the welfare of the individual. As a matter of fact, the idea of liberty and equality,§ which accompanied

§ Shu, Source Book, Vol. IV, p. 153.

this new form of education, was always a source of fear to the ruling house and to those responsible for education. And yet the national position was so grave that the Imperial Court at last had to choose between an awakened populace with the danger of a revolution and an unenlightened populace with the danger of national extinction. Their choice, meant to be a venture at that time, later proved that their fears were well-founded.

It has been brought out in the previous chapter that a dual nationalism existed during the Tsing Dynasty. The problems

of dual nationalism became particularly difficult for the government to handle during this period. While trying to promote national consciousness in order to combat Western imperialism, it had to stupefy the national consciouness of the Chinese in opposition to the Manchus. One can hardly find a significant educational document of this period—regulations, proposals, or criticisms—without witnessing this parallel effort of the government. It was obvious in the kind of curriculum to be adopted, the virtues to be emphasized, and the kind of restrictions to be placed on private schools.* So while the

* Shu, Source Book, Vol. II, pp. 8, 12, 14, 18.

rulers and subjects were united in their national sentiments against foreign imperialism, between the rulers and the subjects there was an inner problem of nationalism.

In considering the imitation of foreign countries versus national pride, it is plain that pride and imitation can hardly exist together. The growth of one necessarily interferes with the growth of the other. This period is distinct from the preceding in that there was less and even little boasting of the superiority or intrinsic excellence of Chinese culture. On the contrary, the West was set up as the model. The system of schools was copied from Japan. Even any new plan proposed, any criticism or improvement made, was supported by references to the practice in one or more foreign countries. As there was as much anxiety for Western learning as there was ignorance about it, one can readily expect much unconscious imitation in the practice of the schools,* especially through the influence

* See Chapter Three, Nationalism in the Curriculum.

of students abroad and the "returned" teachers.‡ Japan could

‡ See Chapter Four, Nationalism and Students.

no longer be looked upon as trivial, especially after the Russo-Japanese War. In spite of the fact that Japan had been looked down upon because of her imitation of the West, China now had to imitate even the shadow of Western learning! There was popular acceptance of the superiority of Western learning and culture, however slight this superiority might be.

The promulgation of the new system of schools undoubtedly awakened a large portion of the population to national consciousness. What seemed topics of vital interest to the leaders in government and in public life also became so to the middle classes. The novel contents of the new school program supplied material for the provocation of national consciousness, whether it be the consciousness of national culture, national prosperity, national unity, or national sovereignty. Furthermore, multiplication of schools, the student migratory movements and the influence of students with Western training, and

the growth of educational agencies such as the press, magazines, translated books, associations, etc., furthered the extension of national consciousness.

THE THIRD PERIOD (1912 to about 1922)

The year 1912 marks the beginning of another period in the consideration of the aims of education and educational thought, as the aims of education for a republic must not be the same as those for an empire. The released energies and the exercise of freedom of speech, however limited it may be at times, gave a better chance for expression of thought by the population, especially by the educational group. This does not mean that this period and the preceding one do not have significant resemblances to each other, as we shall see later.

But to name an approximate year in which the third period ends and the next begins is not an easy task. In a way, the Students' protest in 1919 against the settlement of the Shantung question in the Versailles Treaty marks the beginning of the spirit of the fourth period. From one phase of education—religion and missionary education—one may say that the anti-Christian movement following the World Christian Student Federation held at Peking in 1922 put an end to the third period. But, since we are considering the aims of education, it would be difficult to end the third period as early as 1922 because there were no new aims promulgated in favor of the new nationalistic aspirations. In fact, the attitude towards the aims suggested at that time, which was much applauded by the educationists, was decidedly anti-nationalistic. In a way, 1925 may well be taken as the beginning of the fourth period as that year marks the return of educational aims to nationalism, under the direction of the educational policy of the Nationalist Government. It may be well to set no definite year for the termination of this period.

This period from 1912 to about 1922 shows decreasing emphasis on nationalism and an increasing emphasis on democracy in the aims of education. In the latter part of the period, we shall notice the increasing disintegration between the educational thinking of American origin and the social movements arising from native interpretation of immediate national needs.

The new aims of education promulgated in 1912, the first year of the Republic, are contained in this statement: "The aims of education shall be to emphasize moral education, to supplement it by practical (industrial) education and education for military citizenship and to complement it by aesthetic education." These aims do not differ radically from the previous ones, except that the old aims of loyalty to the emperor and

reverence for Confucius were out of date and were not suitable to the principles of democracy and freedom of belief, and that the new aims provided for aesthetic education, which had been lacking. Tsai Yuan-Pei, author of this new set of aims, pointed out that moral education, industrial education, and education for military citizenship were essentially the same as the spirit of public mindedness, practicality, and militarism in the aims of Education in the Tsing Dynasty.* This set of aims,

* Tsai Yuan-Pei, "My Idea of the New Education." Educational Review, Vol. III, No. 2., Feb.,1912. (In Chinese.)

interpreted with varying emphasis, enjoyed a legal existence,‡

‡ In 1919, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education in Peking, the Educational Commission composed of eminent educators proposed that the educational aims of 1912 be abolished and that this new statement of aims be adopted: "To cultivate wholesome and balanced personality and to promote the spirit of democracy." But it was not officially adopted or promulgated by the Ministry. (See the Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, Vol. II., p. 1023. The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, 1930). (In Chinese.)

with but one exception,* until the inauguration of the new ones

* The aims of education as promulgated by President Yuan She-Kai in February, 1915, lasted too short a time to result in any educational significance. His aims of education were very similar to those promulgated by the Tsing Dynasty. They were: "To promote patriotism, the military spirit, the realistic spirit, to model after Confucius and Mencius, to emphasize self-control, to guard against selfish struggle and impulsive action." (See Shu, Source Book, Vol. II., pp. 104-113).

by the Nationalist Government.

Although there is a definite new reference to super-political education—world outlook and aesthetics—in Tsai Yuan-Pei's document, he did not neglect the importance of military preparation. This statement of his shows one of the reasons for it: "Education for military citizenship is opposed to socialism. There are signs of its decline in other countries. But our country, being situated in the midst of powerful neighbors, must plan for is self-defense. Without the reliance upon military power, national sovereignty, which has been lost in the past years, can hardly be recovered."‡

‡ Tsai Yuan-Pei, loc. cit.

We must not let the presence of the spirit of nationalism in the aims of education blind us from an appreciation of the presence of other spirit also. By moral education was meant civic education centering on the ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity; by practical education was meant education for livelihood; and by aesthetic education was meant a super-political view toward life and toward the world of reality as contrasted with the phenomenal world. Perhaps there has seldom been such a distinct evidence of how the disinterested, academic pet idea of a man was inserted into the national aims

of education of the present day as the aesthetic education instituted by Tsai Yuan-Pei. Since the statement of aims is so involved, ranging from militant nationalism to internationalism, the actual interpretation of the aims in educational practice is far more important than theoretical or verbal interpretation.

The educational thinking of this period shows a clear departure from nationalism, especially after the close of the War. Such a departure is revealed in the kind of articles discussed in the leading educational journals and in the nature of the issues discussed in the national educational conventions.

There was, of course, some departure from the democratic tendency in education, such as the student movement and anti-Christian movement of 1919 and 1922, but such was characteristic of other social and national sentiments which are not the direct product of democratic education. In fact, as early as the dawn of the Republic a proposed program for nationalism in education was presented to the public.* But, as it was not

* Shu Hsin-Cheng, A History of Modern Educational Thought in China, p. 328. (In Chinese).

responded to, the discussion was discontinued. The social situation as well as the educational atmosphere was not favorable for its growth.

Such a movement in educational thought may properly be attributed to two factors. In the first place, there was a popular interest in the republican form of government, and faith in its possibilities. There was a popular conception that the wrong which foreign countries had inflicted upon China in the past was largely due to its monarchical form of government and that everything would go well if everyone were educated to the principle of democracy. The example set by the United States was the most attractive and German militarism was the most vigorously denounced under the influence of the Allies. Later, under China's obligation as an ally herself, and under the world fervor for democracy after the World War, democratic education in all its aspects, whether it be the system of schools, problems of education, contents of curriculum, method of teaching, philosophy of education, theory of thinking, literature or personnel, occupied the main stage in educational thought.

In the second place, education was divorced from politics, especially in the latter part of this period. In other words, educational thinking became independent and apart from political thinking. Such a phenomenon was due to several reasons. First, the statesmen were too much occupied with other problems more vital to them than education, especially school education, to give it much attention. Second, Chinese statesmen of late have been often forced to take a humble attitude toward the formulation of the aims of education, chiefly

because of their over-respect for the science of education and the technical aspect of the profession. Third, there was a necessity for education to keep aloof from politics so that it might continue in spite of political turmoil. Fourth, an idea quite generally accepted by "educators" was that the educator is above the statesman. Such an exaltation may be correct when the educator is identified with the philosopher of the highest esteem, but far from correct when applied to the so-called "educational specialist." In fact, if we are aware of the difference between these terms—schoolmen, educationists, education experts or specialists, and educators—we will admit at once that an educator of the highest repute, like Professor John Dewey, is also a statesman.

With the free play of these two factors—interest in democracy and divorce between education and politics—one can explain the influence of such Americans as Professor John Dewey, Professor Monroe, Professor McCall and the many educational theories, practices and innovations which saturated the entire Chinese educational world.* In such an atmosphere of the

* Educational Yearbook, 1924, p. 102. The International Institute Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1925.

improvement of methods of teaching, testing, statistical tabulation, child interest, and scientific experimentation, taxed further by the strain of interpreting English translations, and limited, further, by exposure to only one point of view, it is no wonder that educational thinking grew toward one direction and away from national problems.

THE FOURTH PERIOD

(About 1922 to the Present, 1930)

Though there are some who do not look upon education in China in the previous periods as bearing any relationship to the aspiration of nationalism, none fail to see that this fourth period is characteristic of nationalism in education. Several features are especially outstanding; the anti-Christian movement, the movement for the "recovery of educational rights," the changes in textbooks and curriculum, the new aims and the abundance of discussion on nationalistic education. We shall now discuss the last two features, as the rest belong to later discussions.

First, the factors that contribute to the movement of nationalism will be analyzed. It would be a mistake to identify the nationalistic educational movement with the work of the group of educationalists under the leadership of Chen Chi-Tien, Yu Chia-Tsu, and Li Huang; it would be a greater mistake to consider the growth of nationalistic education as an opposition to the denationalizing effect of communism, as Shu and others

suggest.* According to the writer's analysis, four organized

* Shu Hsin-Cheng, A History of Modern Educational Thought in China, p. 325. (In Chinese.)

bodies shared in the promotion of nationalism in education—the Peking Government, the Chinese Nationalist Party, the Communist Party, and the Nationalist Group. Except for the Peking Government, each had a political platform. The Nationalist Group had the most influence in the territory under the jurisdiction of the Peking Government, while the Communist Party had the most influence in the territory under the Chinese Nationalist Party. As the Nationalist Group and the Communist Party were more or less irresponsible elements in the situation, they represented more extreme views. Lacking a definite political program, the Peking government acted only as demands arose, just as any prudent bureaucracy would do; therefore the discovery of their aims of education is not important. As for the Chinese Nationalist Party, the Communist Party and the Nationalist Group, they were different in their political, social and economic foundations, but were united in one aspect of nationalism, namely, the effort to enable China to regain the sovereignty she had lost with very great attention to sovereignty in education.

The Communist Party had no separate educational policy for China. But, judging from the nature of the happenings in education in China at that period for which the Communists were partly or wholly responsible, and judging from the educational policies of Soviet Russia, it might be said to stand for these things: As far as Chinese sovereignty is concerned, they do all they can to destroy any institution affiliated with the Christian Church or with the capitalistic countries. As for Chinese culture, they have no respect for it, because the essence of Chinese culture is respect for the past and harmony in human relationships, which are diametrically opposed to the exploratory nature of Communism and to the principle of class struggle. As for the ideals of national prosperity and national unity, they claim to be willing to lend support. They responded to those slogans in so far as these were instrumental to their own ends. The question of national sovereignty was a difficult one for them to meet. While they were denouncing the infringement of Chinese sovereignty by the capitalistic powers, they were in turn denounced by the Chinese people who were unsympathetic to Communistic ideals for their infringement upon Chinese sovereignty.

The Nationalist Group, as the writer sees it, is more or less an educational group. Perhaps it might be called the Educational Nationalist Group to differentiate it from the political Nationalist Group, which is the Chinese Nationalist Party. Most of its members are intellectuals grouped under the aspiration of Nationalism,

A few quotations from "Education from the Nationalists' Point of View," written by Yu Chia-Chu, chief exponent of that group, explain their educational program:

> "In brief, it is education based upon Nationalism.... According to present-day China there is nothing more urgent than:
>
> 1. To cultivate the spirit of self-respect in order to firmly establish our nationality.
> 2. To develop national culture in order to amplify national glory.
> 3. To formulate the national soul in order to lay a firm national foundation.
> 4. To uphold national sovereignty in order to maintain national life."*

* Yu Chia-Chu, Education from the Nationalists' Point of View, p. 5. Chung Hwa Book Co., Shanghai, 1925. (In Chinese.)

In substantiating these four principles, Yu Chia-Chu later said:

> "1. Harmonization of the nationals:
>
> A. To adjust the conflicting interests among them.
> B. To cultivate a common feeling among them.
>
> 2. Amplication of National Glory :
>
> A. To create new learning and technique.
> B. To advocate far-sighted international policies.
> C. To develop national characteristics.
> D. To explore 'national studies' (classics).
>
> 3. Establishment of National Foundation:
>
> A. To develop unity.
> B. To extend the political right of the people.
> C. To popularize education.
>
> 4. Upholding of National Sovereignty:
>
> A. Internally to exterminate all national scandals.
> B. Externally to protest against the Powers:
>
> (1) To protest against cultural invasion (cultural imperialism).
>
> (2) To protest against economic invasion (economic imperialism).
>
> (3) To protest against political invasion (political imperialism)."¶

¶ Ibid., p. 48.

Such an outline of nationalistic education is the best organized and the most comprehensive that has been presented by any Chinese educator. However, it stands out clearly as a policy of education from only one point of view. After admitting Yu Chia-Chu's merits in systematically pointing out the nationalistic aspects of education at a time when educational thinking had been misdirected under the delusions of international brotherhood, the writer makes the following criticisms which seem to him quite fundamental. First, as a national policy of education, the Nationalist Group fails to see the comprehensiveness of national life. While the nations' education must be looked at from the standpoint of Nationalism, it is utterly erroneous to view education from that point of view alone. To be specific, the problem of livelihood or economic and industrial development, which is absolutely an urgent need that China cannot put aside and which education of all levels must endeavor to meet, is not taken into account. Second, these educational policies are static, formal and stereotyped, alert only to the well-worn European experience in Nationalism but not to the new issues arising from industrial civilization, or to the new lights upon education thrown by modern discoveries in the nature of learning. Third, these policies end in Nationalism itself. They practically neglect and ignore the international outlook and the place of internationalism in human emotional life which should be the goal even of Nationalism.

The Kuomintang have been seizing political power and assuming party dictatorship in government since 1924. In the area under the administration of this government—the Nationalist National Government—education was seized upon and made to serve the ideals for which the party stands. Even in the areas where the Party government had not yet reached, those who cherished the ideals of the Party tried to make education serve their end. Thus became popular the idea of "Tang Fa Chao Yu" (to design education according to the principles of the Kuomintang). This idea was first implanted in the Pearl River Valley where the Party dominated, but later was extended to the Yangtze Valley and to the Yellow River Valley as the Party's influence swept over the country. As the Chinese National Government is under the tutelage of the Chinese Nationalist Party, and as only the kind of educational thinking in harmony with the principles of the Party would be tolerated or encouraged, there is no need to differentiate between the aims of education of the government and those of the Party or of the educational public. Therefore, we shall limit our discussion to the policies of the Nationalist government.

It sometimes seems very easy to summarize the educational policies of the Nationalist Government by identifying them with the Three Principles of Sun Yat-Sen. And, yet, when one stands

closer, it is not easy to put his finger on them and say which are the educational policies of the Nationalist Party and which are not, for the Party itself represents various shades of opinions with constant changes and readjustments. The true picture of the educational policies of the Nationalist Party can be seen only when current history becomes past history.

Nevertheless, the broad outlines or general trend of thought in the new education are quite clear, as indicated in the Educational Conference held at Nanking in May, 1928, and in two leading documents on educational policies.*‡ As a political

* "Discussions on Educational Policies by Hsu Chih-Cheng and Wei Chio," Chinese Journal of Educational Research, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2, Canton, Feb. and March, 1928. (In Chinese.)

‡ Report of National Educational Congress, Nanking, May, 1928. (In Chinese.)

party, the Nationalist Government stands for a comprehensive program of national salvation centering on the problems of nationality, democracy, and livelihood. As a revolutionary party, it favors the scientific spirit and the findings of modern educational psychology. Whatever program the Educational Nationalists advocate, the National Government, being a responsible government, includes, but never with the extreme view; for whatever the program of the former lacks, the latter supplements it from the aspects of democracy and economic reconstruction. The Nationalists seldom fail to point out the relation between school and society, education and life, and are always alert to consider the relation of education of the problems of scientific attitude and industrial production, both important factors in modern society. They view the life of the nation as a whole and as a part of the world, and see nationalism as a step to international brotherhood in the prospective future.

It is hard to say how well the aims of education promulgated by the National Government in September, 1928, as formulated under the influence of the National Education Conference in May, represent the spirit of the revolutionary movement that established the government or how well they represent the spirit of the three principles of Sun Yat-Sen. At any rate, these aims represent how "educational experts" have interpreted the Three Principles which Sun Yat-Sen once called the Principles of National Salvation. It seems to the present writer that they fundamentally lack the clear accent on national awakening which Sun Yat-Sen emphasized in his will, partly because of their anxiety to direct the attention of students away from politics and partly because of their desire to develop technical men of substantiality.

The Aims of Education promulgated by the National Government in September, 1928, state as follows:

"Whereas the Kuomintang of China is undertaking national reconstruction on the basis of the 'Three People's Principles,' education shall be conducted in accordance with these principles. All previous declarations of educational purposes have naturally become inadequate. In keeping with the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and the general principles of education, it is hereby declared that the purposes of education in the Republic of China shall be as follows:

"In order to realize the Principle of Nationalism, education should aim to revive the national spirit of the people, to develop Chinese culture, to elevate the morality of the people, to train their bodies, to disseminate scientific knowledge, and to cultivate interest in art.

"In order to realize the Principle of Democracy, education should aim to impart political knowledge, to develop the ability to exercise the four political rights, (voting, recall, initiative and referendum), to demarcate the limits of freedom, to inculcate habits of obeying law, to promulgate the true meaning of equality, to encourage the spirit of public service, to train for the ability to organize, and to further the spirit of group cooperation.

"In order to realize the Principle of Livelihood, education should aim to inculcate habits of labour, to increase ability of production, to extend the applications of science, and to advocate economic harmony in society.

"Finally, education should aim to advocate the true meaning of internationalism, to nurture human sympathy with the hope that through self-determination world brotherhood may be attained."*

* Educational Laws and Regulations Issued by the Central Government and the Kwangtung Provincial Government, p. 96. Published by Sun Yat Sen University, Canton, China. (In Chinese.) Translation based upon Chu You-Kuang's Some Problems of a National System of Education in the Light of Comparative Education, manuscript copy, p. 10.

At a later date, a new statement of aims was promulgated, which is more simple and less specific. Although it does not suggest the encyclopedic nature of the aims previously promulgated, in essence the two do not differ. These new aims were originally decided upon in the Third National Congress of the Chinese Nationalist Party, and were finally promulgated by the National Government in April, 1929.

"Education in the Republic of China shall be based upon the Three Principles of the People, with the aim to make the life of the people substantial, to support the life of society, to develop the livelihood of the citizens, and to perpetuate

the life of the nation, in order that the nation may be independent, human rights popularized, means of livelihood developed, and the cause of world brotherhood hastened."‡

‡ Official Bulletin. Ministry of Education. Vol. I, No. 4, April, 1929, Nanking. (In Chinese.)

We have noticed, therefore, that many changes took place in the trends of educational thought in this period from about 1922 to the present. In the earlier part, the center of thought was on democratic education. After the 6-3-3 plan was adopted and a new curriculum was formulated, educational thinking was devoted to the working out of the new program and to adjustments to the new school system. After 1925, nationalism appealed greatly to the educators. The success of the Chinese Nationalist Movement in establishing the National Government in Nanking in 1927 directed educational thinking to questions of readjusting education to the new order. Education was re-evaluated in all of its phases. A national administrative system of education was experimented with, new policies of education were formulated, new aims of education were promulgated, new textbooks were written, and a new curriculum was introduced.

Therefore, the educational thinking of this period was in great confusion. However, it can be characterized as strongly nationalistic. The various aspects of Nationalism were appealed to, particularly the aspirations of national sovereignty and national unity. For example, national sovereignty in education was appealed to in the movement for the recovery of the right to educate, which movement has accomplished a great deal within five years. Also, national unity in education accomplished a great deal, both because of the aspirations of the people for unity and because of the ability of the Nanking Government to centralize its various departments.

However, so far as national prosperity is concerned, and perhaps national culture also, education has accomplished practically nothing. National prosperity is an ideal for the realization of which a much longer time is necessary. Educators are beginning to consider it, and, perhaps, when properly appealed to will be able to challenge the imagination of the country to a realization of a greater cause of nationalism.

A SUMMARY

We have reviewed in some detail the educational aims and the educational thought of the modern history of education in China under four periods: 1862 to 1900, 1901 to 1911, 1912 to about 1922, and from about 1922 to the present (1930).

Looking back over the aims and purposes of school education in China in the modern period, the effort of the

national leaders to try to map out school education for the national cause is noticeable. At times, of course, this national consciousness has been lost sight of through a more optimistic outlook of the world.

In the first period (1842-1900), when the modern schools were being introduced in a piecemeal manner, the purpose was prevalent to use the new education for military preparation. Aside from science, mathematics, technology, and armament, there seemed to be little else that China really cared to learn. There were also some leaders who saw the use for the political sciences of the West, but in general this was something to be looked upon with considerable skepticism. This period was also marked by the controversy between those who favored Western culture and those who disfavored it, which controversy, if settled at all in that period, was settled in favor of the conservatives.

The second period (1901-1911) was marked by the anxiety to accept Western school education. In spite of the fact that much was copied from Japan and Germany, or perhaps because of it, the nationalistic element was very strong. A very well formulated set of aims of education according to national needs as the country then faced them was produced.

The third period (1912 to about 1922) was a period of republicanism in education. In its earlier part, the militant spirit of the previous period was still present. In its latter part, especially right after 1919, educational aims and thinking were strongly influenced by the ideals of progressive education, democracy, and international brotherhood. But on the whole the period may be called one expressive of the Republican ideals.

The fourth period (from about 1922 to the present, 1930), is is strongly inclined toward nationalistic aspirations. Of course, from 1919 to 1924, the period was one of confusion when education was almost entirely under the sway of the syndicates of education. But educational thinking after 1922 became more sensitive to nationalism, which reached its peak in 1925, and was later accommodated in the new aims of education as promulgated in 1928. This period is marked by the ascension of education to national ends. The term nationalism begins to be widely used in connection with discussion of educational questions. Many factors accounted for the change, of which, of course, the Nationalist Movement was the chief. The most significant feature is that the aims, instead of starting from personal virtues and qualities such as "loyalty to the Emporer," "moral education," "wholesome and balanced personalities," start with national programs in terms of social needs: "Principle of Nationalism," "Principle of Democracy," and "Principle of Livelihood."

CHAPTER III

NATIONALISM IN THE CURRICULUM

THE PLACE OF THE CURRICULUM IN CHINESE SCHOOL EDUCATION

The curriculum or the program of study is often an excellent indicator of many things. It shows not only the philosophy of learning and the philosophy of life of the maker, or makers, but also the social character of the society for which it is planned. A casual observation and a fragmentary interpretation of the curriculum, however, may not reveal the true character of the society. For instance, it would be erroneous to attribute the absence of religious teaching in the Public Schools of the United States to the irreligious or atheistic character of American society, or the absence of nationalistic purposes in the teaching of history in England to the lack of appreciation of patriotism in British society. But if we go deeper into the problem, the real character of their society will be clearly portrayed. We will undertsand that the former is due to the seriousness of the American people in regard to their particular sects of religious beliefs and that the latter is due to the wealth of more effective institutions through which British loyalty is inculcated. So in the same way we shall be able to see the development of Chinese society through the development of her school curriculum.

Until recently, "What to Teach" and not "How to Teach" occupied the entire stage of Chinese educational thinking. In other words, the heart of many educational problems has been "Contents" not "Methods." This is not a criticism, because such was also largely the situation in the West. Although the situation has changed in the West, China as an imitator of the West is apt to keep the old traditions for a longer time. For the present purpose, however, it is fortunate because the existence of departmentalization of subjects and the faculty psychology of learning makes the analysis more direct and less involved.

What effects the new contents will have upon the lives of the students will be seen in the discussion to follow and in the one on students. But we should notice, in this connection, the social influence of the new curriculum. While the students are participating in the new learning, they are at the same time spreading the knowledges of a new culture in their homes and in their community through the textbooks and home work which

they carry home, and through the school drills, school exhibits, etc. Thus the influence of the spirit and contents of the curriculum is far reaching; its significance goes beyond the school walls and beyond the lives of those who directly participate in it. In a real sense, the child as the representative of his home to acquire this new learning in turn becomes the spokesman of the school and this new culture in his own home and community. This was specially true in the earlier stage of modern education in China.

THE SCOPE OF STUDY

We shall not define the term "curriculum" in any rigid way but shall use it to imply the contents of instruction in its broad sense. For the sake of simplifying matters, we shall take the curriculum of the elementary school as the basis of analysis. Remarks on and references to the curricula of higher levels will be occasionally made when they are pertinent to the discussion in question. Although the curriculum of the elementary school system is simpler than the curriculum of the whole school system, yet within the elementary school system itself the composition and organization of the curricula vary from time to time. They vary in the number of years covered and in the range of ages specified. For instance, the elementary school from 1903 to 1911 was of eight years for the 7-15 year-olds; the elementary school from 1912 to 1921 was of seven years for the 6-13 year-olds; and the elementary school from 1922 to the present has been of six years for the 6-12 year-olds. But, otherwise the nature of elementary education is in general unique. With those reservations in mind, we shall study the curricula of the various periods in common terms. Furthermore, as we shall confine ourselves to a study of the curriculum in the modern school system, we shall not go farther back than the curriculum promulgated in 1903.

OUTLINES OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The following two tables summarize the general development of the curriculum of the elementary school from 1903 to the present time. The first table shows the program of the lower level and the second the program of the higher level.

Even a superficial examination of the development of the program of study would have many interesting tales to tell, particularly the story of the change in the philosophy of learning. But whether it would be of equal interest or not, the writer must confine his analysis to its nationalistic implications. Changes in subjects amounting chiefly to changes in terminology will not concern us. We shall be concerned with the changes that have intimate relations with the spirit of nationalism.

TABLE 2

Curriculum of the Lower Level of the Elementary School.

§ Subjects.	Allotment of time in each of the subjects.			
	Promulgated in 1903	Promulgated in 1912	Promulgated in 1923	Promulgated in 1929
Morals Party Principles	(1)* 6.7%	(1) 8.0%		(1) 2.7 %
Classics	(2) 40.0%			
Chinese Literature Chinese National Language	(3) 13.3%	(2) 48.0%	(1) 30.0%	(2) 28.1%
Arithmetic	(4) 20.0%	(3) 20.0%	(2) 10.0%	(5) 11.0%
History Geography Social Studies	(5) 3.3% (6) 3.3%		(3) 20.0%	(3) 8.5%
Science Gardening and Nature Study	(7) 3.3%		(4) 12.0%	(4) 8.5%
Physical Drill Physical Culture	(8) 10.0%	(7) §	(8) 10.0%	(8) 12.5%
Drawing Fine Arts Arts	Optional	(5) 4.0%	(6) 5.0%	(7) 6.1%
Handwork Industrial Arts Labor	Optional	(4) 4.0%	(5) 7.0%	(6) 13.4%
Singing Music		(6) § 16.0%	(7) 6.0%	(9) 8.5%
Sewing		For Girls		
Total	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%	99.3%

‡ In preparing this table, the following sources have been consulted;
Chang Chi-Tung and others, Revised School Regulations, 1903. (In Chinese.)
The Elementary School Program Promulgated by the Ministry of Education, July, 1912. (In Chinese.)
Outline of Standards of the New System Curriculum, 1923. (In Chinese.)
Provisional Curriculum Standards for the Elementary Schools, Published by the Ministry of Education, Nanking, 1929. (In Chinese.)
Cheng Chung-Hai, "Elementary Education in China." Bulletins on Chinese Education, 1923.
Wu Yen-Un, "Elementary Education in China in the Last Thirty-Five Years," Chinese Education in the Last Thirty-Five Years, Commercial Press, 1931. (In Chinese.)

* The numbers in the parentheses indicate the order in which those subjects are commonly named.

§ Physical Drill is incorporated into Singing.

TABLE 3

Curriculum of the Upper Level of the Elementary School.‡

Subjects	Allotment of Time in each of the Subjects			
	Promulgated in 1903	Promulgated in 1912	Promulgated in 1923	Promulgated in 1929
Morals	(1) 5.5%	(1) 6.7%	(4) 4.0%	(1) 5.9%
Civics				
Party Principles				
Classics	(2) 33.3%			
Chinese literature	(3) 22.2%	(2) 30.0%	(1) 30.0%	(2) 25.5%
Chinese				
National Language				
Arithmetic	(4) 8.3%	(3) 13.3%	(2) 10.0%	(5) 11.8%
Chinese History	(5) 5.5%	(4) 5.0%	(5) 6.0%	(3) 9.8%
History				
Geography	(6) 5.5%	(5) 5.0%	(6) 6.0%	
Social Studies				
Hygiene	(7) 5.5%	(6) 6.7%	(3) 4.0%	(4) 9.8%
Science				
Nature Study			(7) 8.0%	
Gardening			(8) 4.0%	
Agriculture	Optional	(10) 6.7%		
Drawing	(8) 5.5%	(8) 3.3%	(10) 5.0%	(7) 5.9%
Fine Arts				
Arts				
Physical Drill	(9) 8.3%	(9) 10.0%	(12) 10.0%	(8) 11.8%
Physical Culture				
Handwork	Optional	(7) 3.3%	(9) 7.0%	(6) 13.7%
Industrial Arts				
Labor				
Singing			(11) 6.0%	(9) 5.9%
Music				
Domestic Studies		(For Girls) Opt. 10.0%		
English				
Business	Optional			
Total	99.6%	100.0%	100.0%	100.1%

‡ See Table 2.

Looking over the list at a glance, we notice that several subjects which appear rather early in each column do not last throughout all the four periods. These are: Moral Instruction, Classics, Civics and Party Principles. If the order in which the subjects are commonly named has any significance, notice that moral instruction was named first in the first and second periods. Classics was given second place in the first period. In the third period, there is no trace of either of those two subjects which seemed so important for the preservation of Chinese nationality. In their place are two new subjects—Hygience and Civics—ranking next to Language and Arithmetic. The influence of American practice is plain in the installation of these two subjects, which took the place of what were subjects for the instillation of the native culture. At the same time, the change from Moral Instruction to Civics implies the shift of emphasis from personal virtues to social conduct. The fourth period is led by a new subject, Party Principles or the Three Principles of the People; this suggests the attempt to develop a definite type of Chinese citizenship.

Bearing in mind the four objectives of nationalism, namely, national power, national unity, national culture, and national sovereignty, we shall proceed to an examination of the nationalistic implications and characteristics of the subjects which are often looked upon as more susceptible to nationalistic aspiration as are the seven "National Subjects" of France discussed by Professor Hayes.* We shall note with special care how various measures taken were in the spirit of nationalism and yet how often the immediate objects of nationalism were in constant conflict, especially the object to develop new national strength and the object to preserve the old national culture.

* C. J. H. Hayes, France: A Nation of Patriots, Chapter III, the Educational System. Columbia University Press, New York, 1930.

CITIZENSHIP—MORAL INSTRUCTION AND CIVICS

We shall look over briefly the nature and implication of the subjects Morals, Civics and the Three Principles, which are grouped under the general topic of citizenship. The teaching of morals in China reminds one of the similar practice in France, to which moral instruction in the modern Chinese school curriculum owes its origin. But it must be remembered that such an emphasis on morals as well as the direct method of teaching it is as old as Chinese educational tradition itself.

In the Tsing Dynasty, moral instruction was thought of as an instrument for the realization of these educational aims: loyalty to the Emperor and devotion to the public spirit and realistic spirit. Strangely enough, it was not thought of as instrumental to the militant spirit or to the furtherance of

reverence for Confucius.* The term "moral instruction" is,

* "Petition to the Emperor for the Promulgation of Educational Aims" (with Imperial Decree), Ministry of Instruction, Peking, 1906. (See Shu Hsin-Cheng, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China, Vol. II, pp. 96-106. (In Chinese.)

in a way, an unfortunate translation of the Chinese term "Hsiu Shen" which means "The Cultivation of Personal Virtues" or the "Cultivation of Self", a term which has been in common use in thousands of years. It was only natural that attention was centered on personal ethics in accordance with centuries of tradition rather than on group conduct in accordance with the new demands of the State. Nor must it be forgotten that the authorities of the Tsing Dynasty were facing a dual nationalism. To the extent that nationalism was in the minds of the authors of the course of study for moral instruction, their purpose was rather to undermine nationalism, at least nationalism of the Chinese in opposition to the Manchus.

Although the establishment of the Republic changed the ideology of personal virtues, the non-nationalistic character of the subject is quite outstanding. An essay by Tsai Yuan-Pei, first Minister of Education of the Chinese Republic and author of the aims of education, said that the function of moral instruction was this: "Hsiu Shen (the Cultivation of Self) is moral education which is to be supplemented by aesthetics and the world-view."‡ This differs from the practice in France where "internationalism is not mentioned."§

‡ Tsai Yuan-Pei, "My Idea of the New Education." Educational Review, Vol. III, No. 11. Shanghai, China. (In Chinese.)
§ C. J. H. Hayes, Op. Cit., p. 43.

After Moral Instruction as a subject had enjoyed its existence for twenty years, in 1922 "Civics" took its place. We shall determine the degree of its nationalistic capacity by examining how it found its way into the curriculum and what its aims were. Citizenship training was occasionally discussed after the adoption of Western education, but it was not until the close of the War that it gained such wide attention, vigorous development, and enthusiastic acceptance into the curriculum. In 1919 the very Convention of the National Educational Associations Union which proposed the abandonment of a stated national aim of education, proposed also the introduction of "Civics" in the curriculum for this reason: "Now while the tendency of the world is toward advancement and the principle of Democracy is widely spread in the five continents, unless our people are trained in the knowledge of citizenship, they will tend to follow blindly, to act heedlessly, and to go astray. This is of great concern to our country."* The lecture tour of Professor

* Hsu Hsin-Cheng, A History of Modern Educational Thought in China, p. 354. (In Chinese.)

John Dewey in China in the same year also influenced democratic thinking. Finally, "Civics" was adopted in 1922 in the place of the subject "the Cultivation of Self," with this statement of aims: "To lead the student to understand the relation between himself and society (home, school, society, locality, nation and the international world); to develop his desire to improve society; and to cultivate proper habits for modern life."§

§ Outline of Standards of the New System Curriculum. Commercial Press, 1923. (In Chinese.)

Whether the conservatives were justified or not in opposing the introduction of the new subject "Civics" to displace the time-honoured subject "the Cultivation of Self" by calling the innovation an "imported subject,"* it is obvious that the

* The New Education, Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 269, September 1925. (In Chinese.)

introduction of that subject was under the influences of American practice, the principle of Democracy, and the sentiment of Internationalism. It must be said that the forsaking of the subject "the Cultivation of Self" is due to pedagogical reasons as well as social reasons. But its abandonment is, nevertheless, an indication of the popular disbelief among the educational leaders in the old concepts of virtues which constituted the backbone of Chinese culture and Chinese society.

"Civics" is not contained in the new curriculum promulgated in 1929 by the Chinese Nationalist Government. It is neither a subject by itself nor part of a subject as was the case in the previous period when Civics in the lower level of the elementary school was included in Social Studies. Taking the place of "Civics" is the new subject of "Party Principles," which is principally the teaching of the political outlines of Sun Yat-Sen, the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy, the Principle of Livelihood, the Reconstruction of China, and the Outlines of Construction. The purpose is to inculcate a new and stronger nationalism and to familiarize the children with the common platform of National salvation on which the national program is to take its form. This subject differs radically from Civics in that it has a program to work for, and differs from "the Cultivation of Self" in that it captures the imagination of youth by appealing to a social and national vision and not to the abstractions of isolated virtues.

As many Chinese educators have pointed out, in order to give more vitality to this subject, the teaching of the principles of Sun Yat-Sen must not be limited to the classroom teaching of the "Principles," nor even confined to that subject alone. Few have pointed out, however, that the teaching of that subject, should it remain a prescribed subject, must be related

to the Principles of Sun Yat-Sen in action and not in mere words. These Principles must be studied as a national, social, political, and economic program in action, in progress and development, and not as an historical document.

CHINESE CLASSICS AND SACRED LITERATURE

There are three important points in connection with the teaching of the Classics in China: First, the place the Classics had held in Chinese education; second, the bearing of the abolition of Classics upon Nationalism; and, third, the problem of teaching the Christian Bible to Chinese youth in the Mission schools.

For over two thousand years, the Four Books and the Five Classics formed the entire subject matter for any school boy. Higher education was built on top of them; all literature embodied terms, phraseology and quotations from them; the civil service examination was based upon them; and, above all, the whole social structure—ideals, aspirations, systems of value, and standards of what is good, true, and beautiful—rested upon them. The educational leaders of the Tsing Dynasty never failed to appreciate the importance of preserving the old culture. They insisted upon the preservation of Chinese learning, using as their motto: "Chinese learning as the body and Western learning as the function." By Chinese culture and learning they referred particularly to the Classics. Two quotations ilustrate the value which those leaders of the new education placed on the teaching of Classics.

In the "Outlines of Education" drawn up by Chang Chi-Tung and Others in 1903, which remained to be most influential in educational practices in the Tsing Dynasty, a long section urged that "Emphasis on the Reading of Classics be Placed in the Primary and Secondary Schools in Order that the Sacred Religion be Preserved." It began with these remarks:

> "In the schools in foreign countries, religion is a subject. The Chinese Classics is the religion of China. If the Classics are not read, the "way" of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, Chou Kung, and Confucius,* that is, the "San Kang Wu Chang"‡ will be completely destroyed, and China will never be able to maintain herself as a nation. Learning ceases to be when it fails at its source; government ceases to be when it fails at its foundation; when they both fail at their source, the desire for the love of country and for the love of one's own kind will thus be altered. Wherein lies the hope for strength and prosperity?"§

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* The Chinese virtuous kings and sages from 2356 to 479 B.C.

‡ "San Kang Wu Chang" means the three cardinal relations and the five constant virtues. The three cardinal relations are the relations

between the prince and his subjects, between the father and son, between the husband and wife. The five virtues are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness.

§ "Outlines of Education," Article 9, Revised School Regulations, Ministry of Instruction, 1903. (See also Shu Hsin-Cheng, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China, Vol. II, pp. 8-30).

In the Prosposal for the Aims of Education in 1906, the plan for the realization of the aim "reverence for Confucius" had special bearing upon the teaching of the Classics. The following quotation illustrates this:

> "Education in every country respects and preserves its native language, literature, history, customs and traditions, and its native religion....The religion of Confucius is magnificent and all-embracing; he is not only worshipped by the eternal generations of China but also by all peoples of the five continents as their common sage....In recent years the acquisition of knowledge and skills of their citizens (referring to Japan) can compete with those of the Europeans and Americans, but they still train their pupils daily in the teachings and philosophy of the sages and saints of our country.... Therefore we shall put the Classics as a required subject in all schools whether they be of university or primary level."*

* Shu, Source Book, Vol. II, p. 95.

After admitting that the teaching of the Classics as a subject in the Chinese schools was inspired by the practices of other countries and that the favored position given to the Rulers in the Classics, especially as they are traditionally interpreted, enabled them to occupy such a high place as a strategic instrument with which to combat the alien ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity, the genuineness of their motive to preserve the Chinese culture through the perpetuation of its symbols is not to be denied.

Remembering the position the Classics held in the schools since days of old, we shall be able to appreciate more what it meant to Chinese culture when they were abolished from the schools. The popular reasons for their extraction from the curciculum are their impracticality, their monarchical ideology, and their difficulty for children to understand. The change was accepted generally without much opposition. Although during the last eighteen years there were attempts to restore the Classics in the curriculum‡ and to have

‡ In 1915 under Yuan Shih-Kai's regime and in 1925 when Chang Shih-Chao was Minister of Education, there were measures taken to revive the study of Classics in the Elementary School.

Confucianism declared the National Religion in the Constitution,

they were unsuccessful, or, if successful, were immediately repealed.

The present writer, for one, has little regret over the passing of this Confucian culture, for whatever excellence it may have possessed at its best, and even though one may go so far as to grant that it was the highest type of culture for an agrarian civilization, it has to pass away now with the agrarian civilization itself or else change radically. Those who think differently must be alarmed when they discover that the youth under twenty-five years of age—assuming that they entered school in the first year of the Republic at the age of six—know little about what used to be the core of the education which their fathers and fore-fathers received and that the thread which integrated and articulated Chinese society from time immemorial has been abruptly broken in this generation. They will be terrorized when they realize that these youth are increasing in number, in proportion and in influence, and will soon be the only leaders of the nation. They are already experiencing bitterly the new temper of the modern youth who defile the past and antiquity and no longer show the respect for age and authority which they themselves gave to their elders and authority a generation ago.

The above background is necessary for a proper understanding of the movement for the prohibition of teaching the Christian Bible as a required subject in the Mission Schools. Except for the light shed upon the abolition of the Christian "Classics" by the abolition of the Chinese Classics,* the Christian religion

* The English words "classics" and "Bible" are the same word "Ching" in Chinese. The Chinese Classics are generally reckoned as nine in number; Shu Ching or Book of History, Shih Ching or Book of Odes, Yi Ching or Book of Change, Li Chi or Book of Rites, Chun Chiu or Spring and Autumn Annals are the Five "Chings;" Lun Yu or the Analects, Ta Hsueh or the Great Learning, Chung Yung or Doctrine of the Mean, and Mencius are the Four Books. The former have been sometimes described as the Old Testament of Confucianism and the latter the New Testament. (See H. H. Gowan and J. W. Hall, An Outline History of China, pp. 76-78, D. Appleton, New York, 1926).

will be discussed in the chapter on private schools. Many missionaries in China fail to see the Chinese point of view in the matter. To the Chinese, it is perfectly legitimate that, after abolishing their native "Bible," which has such cultural and literary standing, from all the schools, China should abolish the alien Bible from the private schools, which has questionable cultural value and decidedly inferior literary value, especially when the number of youth that enter their schools is so numerous. Those who insist upon the private school's freedom to teach religion with the argument that such is granted in Christian nations evidently fail to see the national aspiration of the Chinese or the history of education of China.

NATIONAL LANGUAGE

In order to understand the problem of the Chinese National language, one has to bear in mind three factors of the Chinese language quite peculiar to it. First, the spoken form and the written form of the language have long been divorced from one another. Second, there are many dialects. Third, the written language is non-phonetic. In order to liberate the mind and to develop a living, written language, what one writes should be what one speaks. But should people write the dialect they speak or should they write the dialect which most of the people speak? Again, in order to liquidate illiteracy, the phonetic system should be introduced. But what would then become of the valuable literature in the non-phonetic script? How can one justify the existence of as many written languages as there are dialects instead of the single written language of today? In other words, in order to improve the language situation in China for the liberation of the individual and for the quickening of the creation of intelligent citizenship, other problems—problems of national culture and national unity—are confronted at every turn.

Dark as the picture of the Chinese language problem is, it is not so hopeless as it might be. There is only one written language in the whole of China, as has been pointed out. The "characters" are the same throughout the whole country, and have the same meaning, though pronounced a little differently in different areas. Again, almost two-thirds of the people speak very similar dialects. Although new problems of education as well as the problems of the industrial and democratic society create a need for a unified language in writing and in speech, the linguistic handicaps of China do not seriously endanger the national unity of China.

The Spoken Language

However, in the degree that the existence of dialects is an obstacle to national unity and that unity is desired, that obstacle was consciously felt as soon as the linguistic unity of the Western Nations captured the attention of the Chinese educational leaders. The following section, with the caption "Mandarin* Shall be Learned in Every School," was contained

* "Mandarin," "Official dialect," "official pronunciation," "Peking dialect," "Peking pronunciation," were often used synonymously. Peking, now Peiping, was the national capital where the royal family and the officials resided and from which high officials were sent to all provinces. Its dialect was considered the official standard dialect. A Japanese scholar, replying to the question raised by some Chinese educators in their visit to Japan, proposed that the Peking pronunciation be adopted as the standard on these grounds: the dignity of the dialect, the simplicity of pronunciation, and the fact that it is the dialect understood by the largest group of people in China. (See Shu, Source Book, Vol. III, pp. 44-48).

in the Outlines of Education issued by the Ministry of Education in 1903:

> "The spoken language of every country is nationally unified. So it is easy to have a common feeling among the nationals, as the phonetic system is taught in the schools. In China the people speak their own dialects. Even the people from the same province cannot understand each other in conversation. Transactions of all kinds have often been handicapped. Now Mandarin is proposed as the spoken language of the whole Empire. Therefore, from the normal school to the higher primary, the teaching of Mandarin shall be included in the subject "Chinese." For practice in the official dialect, the book "Sheng Yu Kuang Hsun Tse Chieh" shall be used as the standard in all schools. In the future all school teachers in every province shall teach in the official dialect. Although they shall not be able to speak so perfectly and fluently as those brought up in Peking, their pronunciation has to be truthful and their voice distinct and clear."*

* "Outlines of Education," Article 24, Revised School Regulations, 1903. (In Chinese.)

The indirect civic effect of the adoption of Mandarin was to raise the imperial dignity of the central seat of government, whether there was such an intention or not. But the intention of solidifying the country, stimulated by Western achievements, was also obvious. Undoubtedly, such a provision in the curriculum helped to further understanding among some people; but whether the linguistic accomplishment for which the teaching of Mardarin is responsible justifies the time, effort and sacrifices made is questionable. However, one cannot fail to recognize its nationalistic implications—the nationalistic intentions of the curriculum maker, the nationalistic morale it brought about, and the nationalistic motives of those responsive to the curriculum prescription.

The endeavor to further the unity of the national language has been continued in the Republic. Its main effort, as the writer sees it, has been to standardize the pronunciation of the written words. Early in 1913 the Association for the Unification of National Pronunciation was established under the Ministry of Education. In 1920, the Dictionary for National Pronunciation presented under the auspices of the Association Preparatory for the Unification of National Language, was approved by the Ministry. This was followed by an educational decree that it be accepted as the standard throughout the whole country.

The attempt to unify the spoken language at the present time is as strong as at any time in the past. According to a

Ministerial decree of 1930,* it is urged that all elementary and

* Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Education, Vol. II, No. 11, p. 32. March 10, 1930, Nanking. (In Chinese.)

secondary schools begin to use the national spoken language as the medium of teaching. With increased means of communication and with repeated vigorous efforts by the educational authorities as well as by the educational public, the unified spoken language will surely have a greater chance of success.

With the subject of national language the phonetic symbols must be taught, not, however, as a separate subject.* This

* Ministerial reply to a petition that a subject be installed in the schools for the teaching of the phonetic symbols for national pronunciation. (See Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Education, Vol. II, No. 10, March, 1930.—In Chinese.)

phonetic system, of thirty-nine symbols, has chiefly remained an auxiliary instrument to facilitate standardized pronunciation, and Chinese leaders have been careful not to call it an "alphabet." We must remember the two cultural factors in China—the existence of a non-phonetic written language with a previous culture attached to it, and, at the same time, the existence of many spoken dialects. The adoption of phonetics as an independent system of writing would be apt to belittle the Chinese literary heritage—a national asset which many are unwilling to give up; and would eventually create as many written languages as there are dialects—a national disunity which no one would care to see. Therefore, the National Educational Congress, in 1930, decreed that the phonetic system be taught throughout the country with the provision that it does not stand alone but accompanies the Chinese characters. This means that the newspapers, for instance, will be printed in Chinese characters with phonetic symbols on the side to make it accessible to those who know the phonetic symbols only. Thus the force of Nationalism shapes, and even limits, the function of a phonetic system.

The Written Language

Those who visited Chinese schools in 1919 would have noticed that the written language taught in the schools was exclusively the classical language or the dead language which had been practically the only written language, a language that had been divorced from the vernacular for over two thousand years. But if they visited the same schools in 1929, they would have found that in practically all the elementary schools throughout the country, the only written language taught was the vulgate language, which is called Kuo Yu, the National

language, or Pei-Hua.* All the textbooks for the elementary

* Ku Yu (the National Language) in general means the spoken language of the Northern Provinces or the written language in the Northern dialects, or both. Pei-Hua means simply the spoken language but has come to mean the written language in the Northern dialects.

school are now required to be written in the vulgate language. It is already evident that the new generation is unable to write the old written style which their forefathers had been writing for centuries.

In order to see how the force of nationalism has shaped the Pei-Hua Movement, let us first consider what a Pei-Hua movement might have meant.

Theoretically, the attempt to substitute the classical form in writing by the spoken form is a romantic, democratic movement. It desires to appreciate and elevate what seems to be simple, common, native, and vulgate, and to liberate the individual and his mind. For example, according to the sympathizers, the best type of literature is that which is the most natural expression of life and experience. The enslavery of the mind by outward forms is to be denounced. If such a major premise is correct, should not one expect that the movement would result in every one giving up the dead, classical language and writing in the living language, that which he uses when he thinks, speaks, and that which is being used in his home and his community? Should not one expect that he should resent writing the spoken language of somebody else, the dialect which he does not speak, which he does not hear outside the classroom, and which his father and mother do not apprehend? Moreover, the dialect of somebody else is alien, and is more difficult to write than the classical language, which at least is used in the community. However, although such criticism and resentment might have been expected, there has been little of either. On the contrary, even the Cantonese, who speak such a totally different dialect from the Northerners, have received the Kuo Yu (National Language) Movement wholeheartedly. While there are undoubtedly other reasons for its acceptance, the nationalistic sentiment must have played the chief role.

The movement in China which became the popular National Language Movement was originally intended to be a "literary" reformation. That is to say, the starting point was the reform of literature and the liberation of the mind through literature, not the unification of the national language. What the leading reformers had in mind was summarized by Chen Tu-Shiu's Literary Manifesto, "A Revolution in Literature," published in February, 1917, in response to Hu Shih's article entitled "Some Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature." (Hu's

article was really the declaration in milder form). The Literary Revolution stood for three principles:

"1. Down with the decorative and eulogistic literature of aristocracy; up with the simple and expressive literature of the citizens.

2. Down with the decayed and elaborate literature of Classicism; up with the fresh and truthful literature of realism.

3. Down with the obscure and strenuous literature of the woods; up with the clear and popular literature of society."*

* Hu Shih, "Chinese Literature in the Last Fifty Years," The Last Fifty Years, Shun Pao, Shanghai, 1923. (In Chinese.)

Although this movement was inspired by the spirit of freedom, and was intended chiefly for the cause of literature, culture, and individual liberatiaon, it was sponsored and nurtured by the spirit of nationalism, and finally became a movement for the cause of national unity. That is, it became identified with the national language movement—the movement for the adoption of the Northern dialects as the standard spoken language of the whole country and the written form of the Northern dialects as the standard written language to be taught in the schools. While Hu Shih recognized that the real factor for the success of the literary revolution was the historical process of the literary activities of the living tongue and not the work of an individual or a few individuals,‡ he seemed to

‡ Hu Shih, "The Chinese Renaissance," p. 30, Bulletins on Chinese Education, Issued by the China Association for the Advancement of Education, 1923.

have slighted the role that sentiment for national unity played in making such a program possible.

The Contents

The form of the written language—whether it is classical or vulgate—has a great bearing upon the selection of subject matter. From the standpoint of nationalism, the change of form or style in the written language is not as significant as is the shift of attention from the old Chinese culture to which the classical language adhered, to the new culture brought in by the new linguistic vehicle. To be specific, attention is directed from the reading of ancient masterpieces to the reading of masterpieces by writers of the new thought movement, who, though differing among themselves from champions of Nationalism and Communism to champions of Democracy and Anarchism, are united in their common attack on the old culture. In fact, the opponents of reform really feared the disappearance of the culture represented in the classical language rather than

the change in the linguistic vehicle itself. The sentiment of these opponents was clear at an earlier date, when the classical language was first being adulterated. For example, in the "Outlines of Education" which has been referred to previously, there is a section with this heading: "To Avoid Using Unnecessary Foreign Terms in Order to Preserve the Chinese Language and to Regulate the Spirit of the Students."* It was

* "Outline of Education," Article 12, Revised School Regulations, 1903. This was an attack upon terms introduced from Japan such as: "organization," "representative," "sacrifice," "society," "influence," "conflict," "movement," etc.

also because of the love of the old Chinese culture that the leaders of the Tsing Dynasty emphasized the teaching of Chinese literature in the Schools. The educational leaders of the last decade opposed the adoption of the vulgate language in the schools did so for the same reason even as late as 1925.‡

‡ See Lai Chin-Hsi. "The Defensive War of the National Language World in 1925." The Morning Post, Special Issue, Dec. 1925, Peking. (In Chinese.)

As a result of the abolition of the Classics and the displacement of the classical language by the vulgate, that which used to play an important part in the students' literary life is doing so no longer. From Yuan Chan's study of the topics of essays written in the middle school (High School) from 1916 to 1929, it was discovered that while Chinese classical and historical subjects occupied 25.27 percent to 26.20 percent of the total from 1916 to 1924, they occupied only 2.43 percent of the total after 1925.‡ Thus in time the introduction of

‡ Yuan Chan, A Study of the Topics of the Middle School Essays, p. 284. Min Chi Book Co., Shanghai, 1930. (In Chinese.)

the vulgate language and the abolition of the classics in the elementary schools produces changes in the upper schools. This change has a bearing upon the problem of the changing interests of the students as discussed in the chapter on students and upon the problem of the changing cultural status of the teachers as discussed in the chapter on teachers.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE

The problem of foreign language teaching in China does not properly belong to the field of general elementary education, but for certain connections a brief discussion is worth-while here. The question of the teaching of foreign language in China is not so serious a one as it is in some countries in Europe, in South Africa, or in India, where the question of the foreign and the native languages is more complicated. In China it is taught chiefly as a separate subject. It is not used

for the convenience of governmental administration nor is it imposed from without as an assimilating instrument. It is true that when translations are lacking, foreign language is used as the medium by which technical courses in higher education are taught. In the private schools, often this is not limited to technical subjects or to institutions of university level. However, looking at the question historically and as a whole, the decision to introduce foreign language in the schools in China is voluntary, though the situation that created the demand for that knowledge may have been involuntary.

During the first period of modern education in China, foreign language was taught so that foreign deceit could be detected and foreign secrets of power could be discovered. Now, however, many other reasons are responsible, among them being cultural, commercial and social reasons.

English, because of its universal significance, is practically the only foreign language taught in China. We may, therefore, expect that Anglo-Saxons or those who are English speaking have greater influence. This is obvious in the psychological and social effects of foreign language teaching. For example, its effects upon Nationalism go deeper than the avowed purposes for the teaching of the subject. In learning a language, one learns at the same time the culture of the people represented by that language. The cultural contents of the subject-matter of the foreign language, the influence of the personality of those who teach it, and the assimilative mental state of those who learn it have direct and indirect effect upon the cultural outlook of the learner. The high correlation between those who know foreign languages and those who occupy important positions in government and in public life also affects the formation of attitude toward the power of foreign language and what it can do. Thus, from the standpoint of nationalism, foreign language teaching would seem to be denationalizing in effect.

In the early period of Modern Education of China, the teaching of foreign language in the elementary schools was restricted. The educational ordinances of 1903 encouraged the teaching of foreign languages in schools of secondary level but not in those of elementary level. It was suggested in the "Outlines of Education" that, except for special cases, foreign language was not to be taught to those younger than sixteen or seventeen.* But as time went on, the teaching of English

* "Outlines of Education," Article 13, 1903. (In Chinese.)

naturally got as far down as the lower division of the public elementary schools.

There is a movement for the abolition of English teaching in the elementary schools. A few, moved by the sentiments of

chauvinistic nationalism, cry out for the abolition of foreign language teaching from all the schools in order that cultural imperialism may be avoided. Such an expression of nationalism has never met the approval of anyone with any responsibility or far-sightedness, and is really an attack upon the imperialism of the Western Nations, expressed toward their linguistic representation.

There is, however, a very genuine movement, generally approved, for the abolition of foreign language teaching in the elementary school. While there are other reasons, practical and pedagogical, which support such a movement, the nationalistic is certainly one of the strongest. In 1925, a writer advocating the abolition of the teaching of English in the elementary schools claimed that English teaching is out of harmony with the purpose of elementary education. He then continued:

> "Not until recently has there been the realization of the necessity for nationalistic education. Elementary education has the primary function of cultivating patriotic and efficient citizenship. All kinds of training and all branches of the curriculum should be centered on this mission. Subjects unimportant or irrelevant to the purpose of education should be taken out of the curriculum. English is a foreign language. It has no relation to the training of citizenship and should be abolished."*

* Li Ju-Mien, "Nationalistic Education and the Movement for the Abolition of English in the Elementary Schools." Chung Hwa Educational Review, Vol. XV, No. 2, Aug., 1926. (In Chinese.)

We do not see any government regulation for the elementary schools which makes teaching of foreign language a required subject. But such is the general practice in the coastal provinces and commercial areas. It is not uncommon for English to begin at the fifth grade of the elementary school, partly because of the competition with the missionary schools and partly because of the general demand, owing to the usefulness and the prestige which the possession of that knowledge contributes.

To-day the teaching of foreign language does not have the patriotic character it had when Western education in China was in its infancy. The new aims are based upon pedagogical principles. According to a Chinese author on methods of teaching for normal school students, the aim of foreign language teaching should be: "To enable the children to use the most common foreign language in speech and writing in order to (1) meet the most common and simple needs in business and in society, (2) to establish the foundation for further study in that

language, and (3) to promote their interest in the study of the daily life conditions of foreign countries."*

* Fan Shou-Kang, Modern Normal School Textbook—Methods of Teaching for all Subjects, Chapter XII. Commercial Press. (In Chinese.)

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

Looking over the outlines of the curriculum in the lower and upper levels of the elementary school as presented in Tables II and III, one notices that the subjects History and Geography are not found throughout the whole elementary school or in all periods. This does not mean, however, that on any one level or at any one period the contents of those two subjects were not included in the curriculum. For the lower level, the subject matter of history and geography was included in the subject "Chinese" in the curriculum of 1912; after 1922 it was put into the composite subject of "Social Studies." For the upper level, History and Geography were taught as separate subjects until 1929, when they were finally included under the subject "Social Studies."‡

‡ However, history and geography are still taught as separate subjects.

History and Geography, especially the former, have always occupied the central place of attention in the minds of many who approach the curriculum from the standpoint of Nationalism. Not only have the makers of the curriculum looked upon them as the most effective instruments in the school for the inculcation of nationalism, but also the critics of nationalism in education have centered their attack upon them.

Let us review the aims of history and geography teaching in the various periods. In the proposal for the Aims of Education in 1906 as endorsed by the Emperor, there was special mention of the use of history and geography for the development of military citizenship "by presenting in detail the historical events of war on land and sea, in charts of the flag signals used in forts and warships, and in descriptions of the honorable deeds of those defending the country, some of whom are even stationed at uninhabited posts."*

* "Petition to the Emperor for the Promulgation of Educational Aims," Shu, Source Book, Vol. II, p. 100.

In 1912 the Ministry of Education promulgated the purposes of history and geography teaching, which were copied from Japan. The statements run: "The major purposes for teaching the history of this country shall be to enable the children to know the essentials of national history and to develop the will of the citizens. The major purpose for teaching geography shall be to enable the children to know briefly the surface of the earth, the modes of living of mankind, and the essentials

of national conditions, in order to develop the spirit of patriotism."

In 1922, new aims were promulgated for the two subjects, in connection with the installation of the new system of schools, the 6-3-3 plan. The aims of history teaching were: First, to enable the students to know the evolution of life, the social changes and general world tendencies; second, to cultivate proper conceptions of life and to develop the interest and habit of inquiry regarding the ultimate causes of things and events." The aims of geography teaching were: "First, to enable the children to understand the relationships between geography and life; second, to know the relationship between China and the other countries of the world; and, third, to develop the interest and habit of observing, analyzing, and studying the physical as well as the social environment."* It is evident from these

* Outline of Standards of the New System Curriculum, 1923. (In Chinese.)

aims that there was a fundamental lack of nationalistic aspirations, such as the spirit of protest against imperialism, the ambition for national freedom and equality in international relationship. Also, insufficient attention was given to the needs of Chinese Society and Chinese history and geography.‡

‡ Report of National Educational Congress, May, 1928, p. 314. (In Chinese.)

In 1929, these are the aims in the teaching of history in the Junior High School:§† "To discover the general political

§ The Junior High School is taken instead of the elementary school because their aims differ in wording, not spirit, and furthermore, in the Junior High School, history and geography are to be taught as separate subjects which aims are, therefore, more specific.

† See also Provisional Curriculum Standards for Elementary and Secondary Schools, Part I, pp. 41-48, Published by the Ministry of Education, Reprinted by the Commission of Education of Kwangtung Province, Canton, 1929. (In Chinese.)

and economic movements in China, explaining the imperialistic proceedings of the Powers in China in modern times, in order to stimulate the student's spirit of Nationalism; to discover the general economic and political movements in other countries, explaining the development of the present day international situation, in order to develop their knowledge of the world and to cultivate their far-sightedness and international sympathy of the right kind. However, it is necessary to emphasize China's position in the present day international situation so that the students will not neglect the importance of national struggle and national defense through the self-reliance of the Chinese Nation because of high and far-sighted ideals."*

* Ibid., Part II, p. 25,

As to geography, these aims were promulgated: "The spirit of nationalism should be developed by explaining the customs and traditions of the people in various places in China, and the international outlook should be developed by explaining the international situation."* In geography as well as in history

* Ibid., p. 43.

two-thirds of the allotted time were designated to the native country and the other third to other countries. Thus, evidently, the chief aim was to develop the spirit of nationalism together with internationalism in so far as the latter does not obstruct the former.

In the last decade, the term "History of National Disgrace" or "History of National Humiliation" has been popularized. Formerly, the Opium War, the Sino-Japanese War, the loss of dependencies, concessions and territories to the foreign powers, etc., were each looked upon as a separate event in modern Chinese history more or less distinct in itself. But now they are looked upon as integral parts of the "history of national humiliation," and Curriculum makers refer to the many humiliating events in China's foreign relationships when they use that term. In some schools, there are corners in which various objects of National humiliation are exhibited. Also, several books, widely used as reference books, have been published in the last few years with the title "History of National Humiliation." Their expressed purpose is to inculcate the spirit of nationalism. For example, many sentimental and emotional expressions are used in them with not infrequent exclamation marks.

How far the spirit of Nationalism was carried in the subjects of history and geography can be seen from the actual contents of the textbooks for those subjects. The next chapter on the analysis of text books deals with this question.

MILITARY DRILL AND ATHLETICS

Physical training was a gravely neglected phase of education in China for over a thousand years, as attention was centered entirely on the literary training of the scholar. Every child learned, literally, as his first lesson, this motto: "There is merit in diligence, none in play." The physical weakness of the nation both individually and collectively speaking was one of the first things that the Chinese became conscious of as conflicts with the West resulted in repeated defeats. Since then the acquisition of physical strength, by military training and by athletics, has never been seriously questioned. First let us consider military training, and, second, athletics.

Before the Aim of "Emphasis on the Spirit of Militarism"*

* See Chapter Two, Nationalism in the Aims of Education.

was published, it was already required in 1903 that "military drill be required in all the schools . . . and that (in schools of higher level) military organization, history of war, military art be taught, military and naval sciences of other countries be added to the political science department in the universities."‡

‡ "Outlines of Education," Article 31, Revised School Regulations 1903. (In Chinese.)

As a result, the common sight of the uniforms which all students were required to wear every day in school was common, as little armies of students marched through the streets accompanied by the blowing of bugles and beating of drums. For a time these two facilities—namely, the school room and the parade ground —were looked upon as the major ones of the school. School sites of those days still remain where a "parade ground" or "drill court" was attached to the school house. In the case of a school to which no drill court was attached, there was a drilling ground near by for the use of the surrounding schools.

In January, 1912, in the outline of the tentative curriculum published by the Provisional Government at Nanking, was this requirement: "Physical drill in the higher primary school and above should have its emphasis on military drill.* This, of

* New Laws and Ordinances of the Provisional Government of the Chinese Republic, Vol. 1, pp. 54-56. Liberty Society, Shanghai, 1912. (In Chinese.)

course, was in harmony with the decree that education for military citizenship be one of the aims of education. However, this provision was very much neglected in practice, nor did the reinforcement by Yuan Shih-Kai's edict in 1915 bring about any great enthusiasm.

After the close of the World War, Western educational thought had a very great influence upon China. The belief was common that Militarism and Nationalism were dead and that Democracy and Internationalism were sweeping over the whole world. As some educators said: "Now, after the European War, it is recognized by the world that education for military citizenship is contrary to the principles of democracy. The educational aims of our country should, therefore, change in response to the currents of the world."‡ Consequently,

‡ "Report of the First Meeting of the Educational Investigation Commission," Educational Review, Vol. XI, No. 5. (In Chinese.)

military citizenship was denounced, and what used to be associated with "physical drill" and "military drill" was displaced by "physical exercise," "physical training," and "physical culture" in the new curriculum of 1922. It is quite true that "physical drill" and "physical exercise" each represent a different theory of learning, but their implication of a difference in national outlook is not to be denied.

In 1925, as fervid nationalism broke out, various leading educational organizations, including the China Association for the Advancement of Education and the National Convention of Educational Associations Union again advocated military training in the schools.* It was proposed, as was already

* Shu Hsin-Cheng, A History of Modern Educational Thought in China, pp. 127-130. (In Chinese.)

practiced in many schools, that the Boys' Army (the Chinese translation for Boy Scouts) be required in the upper years of the elementary school and in the junior high school, and that military training be required in the senior high school and above. Acting upon the resolution of the National Educational Congress of 1928, which was jointly proposed by three very interesting parties, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Military Council, and Mr. Chu King,‡ a decree was finally

‡ Report of National Educational Congress, p. 459, May, 1929. (In Chinese.)

promulgated in 1928 by the Ministry of Education, stating that military training be required of all senior high school and college students and those of technical schools of that level.*

* Official Bulletin of the Ta Hsieh Yuan (Ministry of Education), Vol. I, No. 9. (In Chinese.) (See also the Revised Regulations in Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Education, Vol. I, No. 2.—In Chinese.)

According to the proposal, training in nursing was to be required of all the girls, and all boys and girls in the junior high schools and below were to be given Boy Scout training (Boys' and Girls' Army Training). Judging from the differentiated program in accordance with school level and sex, the present requirement is an improvement over the program for military training in the early period of the modern school system. However, the system of conscription or compulsory military service practiced in Japan and in the countries of Continental Europe has not yet been introduced.

Another form of physical training may be called athletics. This involves more freedom of movement and the spirit of play, as in group games, ball games, and field and track sports. The promotion of this form of physical training has often been based upon the patriotic appeal—the need for citizens with strong physical bodies, and its progress, as seen in ball games and in track meets, has been really remarkable. Before 1922, athletics in the school were considered as more or less extra-curricular activities. However, since the adoption of the new curriculum in 1922, athletics have taken the place of military training. This was easy, because credit could now be given, as even "minimum standards in athletics for graduation" were devised by such measurement educationalists as C. H. McCloy as to how high one should jump, how fast one should run, in order to

"pass."* In 1929, military training came back to the school

* Provisional Curriculm Standards of Elementary and Secondary Schools, Part II, pp. 124-125, Published by the Ministry of Education, Reprinted by the Commission of Education of Kwangtung Province, Canton, 1929. (In Chinese.)

curriculum after six years of legal separation. Now athletics and military training both exist in the curriculum of the senior high school.

Between military training and athletics there is another form of physical training which may be called gymnastics. We refer here to Chinese Boxing, which was once called the "Art of the Fist" but now is more commonly called the "National Skill," or the "National Art." From the time it was advocated by the Ching Wu Athletic Association and General Ma Liang of Shantung in the early dawn of the Chinese Republic,‡ it was

‡ C. H. McCloy, "Physical Education in China," p. 3, Outlines on Chinese Education, Issued by the China Association for the Advancement of Education, 1923.

warmly received by the school authorities and students. It has achieved as much success as any gymnastic type of physical exercise could achieve in modern times, and is now considered as a part of the physical training in the curriculum. This progress of the movement was surely under the spur of Nationalism, in the name of national culture and national strength.

It is interesting to note that even in the matter of athletics, Chinese scholars are unwilling to admit the seniority or priority of foreign nations. They point to history for evidence of the presence of physical training in the curriculum and of the Chinese invention of many games and sports, including football and tug-of-war.* The writer recalls that, in explaining a lesson

* Kuo Hsi-Fen, History of Chinese Physical Education, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1927. (In Chinese.)

in "The Book of Rites," a Chinese teacher insisted that military drill accompanied by a band existed in the school program in China before the time of Confucius. Calling the people's attention to a modern practice as a return to the lost culture always results in reducing the opposition to the new; athletics is an illustration of that point.

MUSIC

In the ancient days, the curriculum of elementary education contained Rites, Music, Archery, Riding, Writing, and Counting. But Music disappeared from the curriculum together with Archery and Riding long before the dawn of the modern era. Although a few romantic scholars here and there took part in music just as they took part in other aspects of romantic life, in general, musicians became associated, in the minds of the Chinese public, with the lower stratum of society—actors, blind girls, ballad singers and not uncommonly beggars.

When Music was introduced into the schools in China, it was Western Music, coupled with group-singing, both alien to Chinese society, unless we call the "shouting of the lessons in unison" in the Chinese classic schools a kind of group-singing! Because of this and because of the Chinese attitude toward musicians, music has, perhaps, received the least attention of all the new features of the curriculum.

When music was introduced into the school in 1903, it possessed a very distinct patriotic accent, as it was not listed as a subject in the curriculum, but was included in physical drill. Often, indeed, the teacher of Music was also the teacher of physical drill. Popular military songs were taught and sung. As the "Aims of Education" stated, "In the subject Music, songs should be composed of the military achievements and wars of the Dynasty, praising the dead heroes of the past in order to inspire in them (the students) the 'never-turn-back' spirit and the ideal to look upon death as returning home."*

* Shu, Source Book, Vol. II, p. 100.

In 1912, singing was included in the curriculum. Since 1922, it has been called "music," which includes vocal singing, instrumental music, the reading and writing of musical notes, the appreciation of good music, and the understanding of musical principles. Because of the highly developed study in the teaching of music in the Western World and because of absence of good Chinese songs for children, it is no wonder that Western music has such a stronghold in the music curriculum of the Chinese schools to-day. When one is aware that China has a distinctive musical culture of her own, one can better appreciate the meaning of the fact that the Music curriculum in China today is almost a complete translation of that found in an up-to-date Western nation. The writer refers particularly to the Music course of study for the elementary school as promulgated by the Ministry of Education in 1929.*

* Provisional Curriculum Standards for Elementary and Secondary Schools, Part I, pp. 88-96. Published by the Ministry of Education, Reprinted by the Commission of Education of Kwangtung Province, Canton, 1929. (In Chinese.)

There are two other features that should also be noted here: first, Chinese Music, and second, the Chinese National Anthem. Under the sentiment of Nationalism, Chinese music has entered the curriculum of the school. Chinese melodies are beginning to be sung; playing Chinese instruments is also being taught. However, the problem remains difficult, because most of the trained teachers in music are solely trained in Western music and because Western music has a very wide spread influence through the military bands. The phonograph and the radio are also influencing Chinese music and are introducing Western music.

There is little doubt that music education is not functioning effectively for the cause of nationalism. If a questionnaire were sent to all the students in China to find out their knowledge of the Chinese National Anthem, it would give most surprising results. Should they hear it play by a foreign military band many would still wonder what melody it was.‡ To some, such

‡ Leng Chun-Sheng, "Nationalism and Music Education in China," Chung Hwa Educational Review, Vol. XV, No. 1. (In Chinese.)

a situation is pathetic. But we must remember that the tradition of singing a national anthem is lacking and that the national anthems of the country have been frequently changed.§

§ The first National Anthem was installed in August, 1911 under the Tsing Dynasty, the second one in May, 1915, the third one in November, 1919. (See Chang Jo-Ku, "A Chronological Account of the Chinese National Anthem," Shun Pao Newspaper, Shanghai, Supplement, Jan. 1, 1926.—In Chinese.)

But then not every nation in the early days of its Republic has the same fortune as France in having at hand such a beautiful song as "La Marseillaise" which could easily be crowned as a National Anthem.

THE NON-NATIONAL SUBJECTS

We have heretofore discussed the nationalistic implications of the curriculum under such captions as Citizenship, Chinese Classics, National Language, Foreign Language, History and Geography, Military Drill and Athletics, and Music. The other subjects, such as arithmetic, science, drawing, handwork, etc., may be touched upon here but briefly. In general, the cultural conflict exists in these subjects as in the foregoing. In other countries such subjects usually do not have special bearing upon nationalism. For instance, none of them is included in the so-called "National Subjects" of France. But arithmetic in the Chinese schools now represents a foreign culture. There is no doubt that the Chinese, in maintaining a civilization for thousands of years, must have an advanced system of calculation. However, instead of calculating with the beads on the Abacus, or the Chinese Calculating Tray, as is still done in Chinese commercial society, students now calculate with pencil and slate in practically all the schools. In place of the Chinese numerals they now use the Arabic numerals. Shop keepers often criticize the graduates of the modern schools for failing to use the Abacus and the Chinese system of accounting. It has always been believed that arithmetic and science are what China needs fundamentally, to bring about Chinese economic prosperity. Furthermore, in drawing and handwork there has been emphasis on Chinese painting and the use of Chinese material,

A SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have analyzed the curricula in the periods from 1903 to 1911, from 1912 to 1922, from 1922 to 1927, and from 1928 to the present time, 1930. It was chiefly around the elementary school subjects that attention was centered, although references were made to the curricula of upper levels. The so-called "national subjects"—citizenship, Chinese Classics, Chinese language, history and geography, military drill and athletics, and music—were special objects of study. In the study of each, the outstanding nationalistic character as well as the development in the various periods was observed.

We have kept in mind how the ideals of nationalism—national power, national unity, national culture, and national sovereignty—found their expression in the school curriculum. Perhaps there was little in the curriculum concerning national sovereignty, but the struggle for national power, the dominating spirit of national unity, and the conflict with the national culture were obvious.

While practically all of the subjects introduced at the beginning as well as from time to time were meant to be for the salvation of the country, chiefly in terms of national power and prosperity, it is observed that the novelty of the subjects made them fundamentally lacking in nationalistic inclinations. When the world was just being opened to China, foreign peoples and things, their geography and history, became so fascinating and bewildering that such subject-matter had to be taught as contents in themselves and not as instruments of nationalism.

The desperate struggle for power and the rush for modern learning is also noticeable, especially in the abolition of Chinese subject matter and the introduction of Western learning. This introduction was not the result of careful analysis or evaluation of the two cultures. As has been pointed out before, Liang Chi-Chao himself admitted that he did not know much about Western education when he advocated it in the Reform. Peffer observed similarly: "Nor is there a sufficient grasp of the implication of a modern school system and modern education."* It should be pointed out, however, that the abolition of the old culture was not due to a genuine belief on the part of the Chinese that their own civilization was decidedly inferior, but was due to the indispensability of such a step in the attainment of power.

* See Nathaniel Peffer, China: the Collapse of a Civilization, p. 132. The John Day Company, New York, 1930.

As for national culture, there seems to have been much denationalization. Judging from the change of contents of the curriculum in Chinese school education—the change from the

old curriculum of thirty years ago in which the classics were practically the entirety to the curriculum of the present day in which are included Western athletics, Western arithmetic, Western music, the Western conception of citizenship, and Western science, with no Classics and no classical language—it is no wonder why some serious thinkers remark on the denationalization of the Chinese and the collapse of a civilization. Fundamental changes are already taking place in Chinese society in the conception of what is good, true and beautiful. People have changed their ideas about the state, the function of the family, and the place of the individual; they have changed their outlook on the material side of life, on religion, on the world, and on labor. In so far as the "San Kang Wu Chang" were the binding principles of the Chinese family, Chinese society, and the Chinese state, these principles have been broken down.‡ Their place has been taken in the

‡ Ibid., p. 131.

school by the principles of fraternity, liberty, and equality. As expressed in the motto: "The body, hair, and skin are received from parents, none should dare to injure or ruin them," such filial piety is being violated by participation in games and sports. Also, the pacifist attitude as expressed in the motto: "A good fellow does not serve in the army" is being challenged by participation in military training. In so far as the principle of harmony, harmony with men and with nature, was the center of Chinese thought, that principle is being replaced by the principle of the struggle for existence.

In the interest of national unity, there is perhaps no more striking example of the strength of the sentiment for national unity than the conversion of two democratic linguistic movements into nationalistic channels. We refer to the confinement of the use of the phonetic alphabet to the function of phonetic symbols in the standardization of national pronunciation, and the apparent satisfaction of the minority—tens of millions in number—in accepting the vulgate movement, not as a movement for them to write what they speak for the liberation of their intelligence, but rather as a movement for everyone to write what the majority of the people speak.

While the ideals of national unity, national culture, and national power are those of nationalism, at times one is realized at the expense of the other. In other words, they may conflict with each other in their development. For example, the preservation of national culture has often stood in the way of the adoption of Western learning. But, in so far as the development of national culture stands in the way of the development of national strength, the former is almost always sacrificed for the latter, so much so that the direct and indirect effects have been considerably denationalizing.

We have also observed that, during this process of denationalization in the development of the curriculum, an unyielding spirit has been encountered at many turns. In a negative way, this was particularly obvious in the resentment against the substitution of the subject "the Cultivation of Self" by "Civics," against the abolition of sacred literature from the schools, and against foreign language teaching in the elementary grades. In a positive way, this is shown by the teaching of national pronunciation in the schools, by the emphasis on military drill and physical training in the curriculum and by the fact that Chinese music, Chinese painting, and Chinese boxing are taking away the monopoly of Western music, Western drawing, and Western athletics.

However, there are many phases in the development of the curriculum in which the absence of national consciousness is revealed. The democratic and international trend of thought among some Chinese educationalists was obvious in the curriculum of 1922, which abolished military drill from the school, instituted the new subject of "Civics" of democratic citizenship, advocated international understanding, and emphasized causal relationship in the teaching of history. Inasmuch as the personnel which drew up the new curriculum for the Nationalist Government in 1929 was largely the same as that which drew up the curriculum in 1922, there was little change in their outlook. Except for the addition of two subjects —the Three Principles of the People and Military Training— and the little additional material on the Principles of Sun Yat-Sen, the curriculum is not much different from the previous one. As far as the provisions of the curriculum are concerned, it seems as if the warning of Sun Yat-Sen that national consciousness must first be awakened among the people is adhered to less than are the modern educational theories and practices of the United States.

Significant as the curriculum is in its influence upon Chinese school education and upon Chinese society as a whole, the prescriptions of the curriculum and its execution must both be considered. Let us not think that the curriculum in writing and the curriculum in action coincide. Granted that the purposes of the curriculum are nationalistic, there is no guarantee that they are faithfully observed when the curriculum is put into action. Such shortcomings, if they are shortcomings at all, can be explained by the lack of experience, lack of proper teachers, and the bewildering fascination of the new subject-matter.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONALISM IN THE SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

PART I

THE GENERAL SITUATION

INTRODUCTION

The discussion on textbooks is an examination of another aspect of the relationship between nationalism and the contents of school education. It is, indeed, a continuation of the foregoing discussion on the curriculum, as the textbook is in many respects the expression, elaboration, and interpretation of the curriculum to the child. Thus, it is the curriculum in action in the classroom.

In the degree that education in the West has been conditioned by the traditions of old education in relying on the book, the textbook, in a greater degree schools in China have been conditioned by the same tradition. To the extent that the lack of sufficient trained teachers in the United States has necessitated greater reliance upon the textbook, to a larger extent the modern school teachers in China have been dependent upon the modern textbooks. Under such circumstances, many teachers in the modern schools in China employ the same methods by which they were taught, requiring the children to memorize the lessons in Chinese, History, Geography, and Ethics word by word and from cover to cover. This situation has changed in the progressive centers where the New Education Movement has been popularized, but the tradition was there for a long time and still has appreciable influence.

The writer does not attempt to discuss the Chinese textbooks from the standpoint of methods. Such a discussion, interesting as it is, belongs to some other study. His purpose is rather to point out the position which the textbook holds in Chinese school educaion. Thus, he will examine briefly the textbook situation in general from the standpoint of national unity, national culture and national sovereignty. Then he will analyze some of the most widely used series of textbooks to discover their outstanding features in the interest of nationalism. The question of the relationship between national culture, national prosperity, and the textbooks has already been largely covered in the discussion on the curriculum.

NATIONAL UNITY AND CONTROL IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

The publication of modern school textbooks began in the year 1897 under the editorship of several teachers of the Nan-Yang Academy of Shanghai to fill their needs in teaching. For a number of years textbooks were published and used without subjection to governmental approval. However, after the introduction of the modern school system in 1903, governmental approval was necessary.

There were two attempts by the government to edit and publish all school textbooks. The first was made in the Tsing Dynasty when the Ministry of Instruction set up a Bureau of Publication which issued series of textbooks on various subjects for all school levels. Many of these have never reached completion. The second attempt was made in 1915 when Tang Hua-Lung was the minister of education under Yuan She-Kai's regime. Both of these were failures.* Therefore, textbooks are now written and published by individuals and concerns and are submitted to the government for approval before adoption for actual use.‡

* Chiang Mung-Mei, "Description of the Publishing of Textbooks by the Ministry of Instruction in the Tsing Dynasty." Source Book of Modern Education in China, Vol. II, pp. 259-261. (In Chinese.) (See also Vol. II, p. 257.)

‡ According to the Regulations governing the approval of textbooks issued by the Ministry of Instruction in the Tsing Dynasty, Article I states: "Now when the education of the whole country is in its early stage, the school system should be uniform and the objective should be right. For this reason, the Ministry has placed the emphasis on the textbooks. Before the textbooks edited by the Ministry are ready, those written by various private individuals shall be examined and approved for use in the schools." (See New Educational Laws, Decrees, and Regulations of the Tsing Dynasty, 3rd Edition, Vol. VIII, Section II, p. 1.—In Chinese.)

According to the first set of Regulations Governing the Approval of Textbooks issued by the Ministry of Education in September, 1912, Article I states: "Textbooks for use in the lower elementary, higher elementary, middle, and normal schools may be written and published by anybody, but they should be submitted to the Ministry of Education for approval." (See Laws, Decrees, and Regulations of China, edited by Wang Chung-Hui, Vol. II, Section 7, p. 9. The Chung Hua Book Co., April, 1915.—In Chinese.)

In the interest of nationalism, there are three facts that should be pointed out here in regard to the ministerial approval of textbooks. First, the power of approval of all the textbooks —textbooks for the elementary, secondary, and normal schools, and for teachers' manuals in the elementary grades—is centralized in the hands of the Ministry of Education. This makes possible the centralization of the control of educational ideas and ideals to be developed in the schools, as, with minor

exceptions, the textbooks in circulation in the schools in the last twenty-five years have all been approved by the Ministry. The schools or localities choose from the approved list. At one time, in the early part of the Republic, the provinces were to have Boards for the selection of textbooks for use in their own provinces, but that system was abolished in 1914 because it was not supported by the provinces.*

* "Notice to the Provinces for the Abolition of the Board for the Selection of Textbooks." Records of Correspondence of the Ministry of Education, Vol. I, Peking, October, 1914. (In Chinese).

Second, through this exercise of control the various governments of China have been able to direct the public mind toward the channel in which the government is supposed to run. The three sets of educational aims promulgated by the Monarchical, Republican, and Revolutionary Governments in 1903, 1912, and 1928, respectively, instilled the ideals of those governments into the textbooks of the respective periods, as all approved textbooks had to comply with those educational aims. Thus, in the Tsing Dynasty special attention was given, in the examination of textbooks, to guard against the possible dissemination of the ideas of liberty, equality, and racial differences.‡ During the Republican era, the principles in the

‡ See the reply of the Minister of Education to the Emperor regarding the objections raised by Chen Kuei-Lung, Viceroy of Chili, concerning current dangerous thought, May 27, 1910. (Supplement of the New Educational Laws, Decrees, and Regulations of the Tsing Dynasty, Vol. IV, Selection 7, pp. 10-11.—In Chinese.)

textbooks were changed into the Republican ideology. It is interesting to note here that for many years the textbooks in the Republic were subject to partisan bias. For instance, the portraits of Sun Yat-Sen and Huang Hsing, two of the greatest revolutionary leaders in the founding of the Republic, and statements of their merits, were ordered taken out of the textbooks.* According to the standards set up by the Ministry

* See 'Instruction to the Provincial Commissioners of Civil Affairs that Statements of praise attributed to Sun and Huang as well as their pictures be taken out of the School textbooks," March 20, 1914. (Records of Correspondence of the Ministry of Education, Vol. I, p. 115. Peking, 1914.—In Chinese.)

of the Nationalist Government for the approval of textbooks, the spirit and contents not only must be educationally sound but also must be in line with the party principles.‡

‡ Common Standards for the Examination of Textbooks, Promulgated by the Ministry of Education. (Current Educational Laws and Regulations of the Central Government and the Kwangtung Provincial Government, pp. 100-111, published by the Sun Yat-Sen University, Canton, 1929.—In Chinese.)

Third, all textbooks prior to the literary revolution were written in the classical language. That uniformity was secured not by educational regulation but by the absence of any other form of linguistic style. But since the Literary Revolution won its decisive battle, textbooks have also been written in the Peihua (vernacular) style. In 1928, the Nationalist Government prohibited the use and sale of textbooks written in the classical style, in the elementary schools.§ This not only makes a single

§ "That the Spoken Language Form Shall Be Used in all Elementary Schools," promulgated by Ta Hsieh Yuan (Ministry of Education), August 1928. (Ibid., p. 111).

style of writing possible but also popularizes, through the exclusive use of the spoken language of the Northern dialect, a national spoken language. Furthermore, the regulation that no local dialect or local slangs be used in the textbooks* preserves a common unity.

* "Common Standards for the Examination of Textbooks." (Ibid., p. 110).

There is another aspect of the unified character of the Chinese school textbooks which is not seen in the ministerial regulations—the nature and influence of the publishing houses. There are a few publishing houses that patronize the schools, such as the Commercial Press, the Chung Hwa Book Co., the Wen Ming Book Co., and the Shih Chieh Book Co. The Commercial Press has by far the greatest influence. Because of greater financial resources, an abler staff, greater commercial activity, and an older standing in the publishing field than the others, it has been able to edit, publish, and popularize textbooks of better quality. Its circulation reaches beyond the Chinese territory to the overseas Chinese all over the world.

There is one important feature in the textbooks that should be noted. It is the familiarizing the children of the whole country with a common outlook. The outlook is distinctly that of a Northerner, presumably a Shanghainese, as seen through the terminology used, the life depicted, and the child's background taken for granted.

Since 1922, when the New Education Movement spread over China together with the 6-3-3 system, educators have encouraged the idea of editing textbooks for local needs.‡ However, while

‡ General Survey of Modern Education in China, edited by Shu Hsin-Cheng, p. 69. The Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1928. (In Chinese.)

the National Educational Congress in 1928 made an effort to meet local educational needs by permitting localities to edit and publish supplementary literature of local material, it also stated that the time permitted to the use of local material

should not consume more than three-tenths of the classroom time given to textbooks.* There seems to be little stress on

* See "Resolution Regarding Regulations Permitting the Localities to Edit Supplementary Reading Material for Local Use." Report of National Education Congress, pp. 592-594. Nanking, May, 1928. (In Chinese.)

the local element, as indicated by the absence of such textbooks, though the locality may be a province with a population of thirty or forty million or a territory of over a hundred thousand square miles. The reason for the acceptance of such a practice is easily seen, as the classics—the sole subject-matter in Chinese old education—were never local in color.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

The relation between the textbooks and national sovereignty is one that deals with the problem of the use of foreign textbooks, the translation of foreign textbooks, and the acquisition of the foreigner's point of view. Handicapped by the newness of learning, China has been using many foreign textbooks in the upper level of the school system, not only for foreign literature and natural sciences but also for history and other social sciences. The drawbacks to such books are clear. While there may be no difference in the subjects such as natural sciences, there are differences in the point of view in subjects such as history and geography. Indeed, in many of the so-called textbooks of World History or World Geography, China is given a small place, so small that they might better be called History and Geography of "The Rest of the World" or the "World as the School Children in the West Conceive of It." Not only are textbooks on world history and world geography subject to the Western bias—for instance, the exaltation of Western culture and Western historical persons,—but, so, also, are textbooks on Chinese history and Chinese geography. For example, the author of an early elementary textbook of the History of China, which ran into its 23rd edition in January 1911, frankly stated that it was based upon a Japanese history.*

* The editorial remarks of the history book, The New General History of China, edited by Chou Peng, published by the Commercial Press, state that it was based upon the History of the Orient which was chiefly on China, published by the Japanese Society for the Teaching of Middle School Subjects.

Thus, in the accounts of China's history of the last hundred years, there is little attempt on the part of the Chinese authors to present the Chinese point of view. Such events as the Opium War and the Boxer Revolt are presented as they would be presented in foreign textbooks. The seriousness of such a state of affairs was pointed out by Wang Ching-Wei in his comment on the Opium War: "The Cause of the Opium War was very

simple. China refused to allow England's importation of Opium. England imposed that importation upon China, by force. . . . The foreigners embroider their case by asserting that, in this war, the European Powers were demanding from China diplomatic and commercial equality. . . . But, worse yet, even in our own school textbooks and lectures, Chinese writers attributed, as the cause of this war, the severance of commercial relationships with England. Even more terribly than opium itself has the poison of Imperialism corrupted our people."*

* Wang Ching-Wai, China and the Nations, translated by I-Sen Teng and John Nind Smith, pp. 15-17. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York, 1927.

In geography, again because of the absence of Chinese research scholarship, the national boundaries in the school maps of China have been subject to the foreigner's consignment or prescription. In the Regulation of the Publishing Bureau of the University of Peking in 1902, then the highest educational administrative organ of the country, it was stated that, since the existing maps of China were out-of-date, foreign maps should be used as references in drawing up new maps.* As a

* Source Book of Modern Education in China, Vol. II, p. 255. (In Chinese.)

result, even some of China's territory was marked as foreign territory in the school maps and geography textbooks. The most astonishing was the Chiang-Hsin-Po case which was brought to the Ministry's attention by the Chinese National Chamber of Commerce in 1929.‡ That incident illustrates that

‡ On April 10, 1928, the Newspapers in Shanghai reported that the people in Chiang-Hsin-Po, a territory of over 2,000 li long and from 700 to 800 li wide (a li is about one-third of a mile), at the western border of Yun-Nan Province, were protesting to the Chinese Government against the invasion of British troops into their territory. According to the Chinese historical records, this is genuine Chinese territory. Acting upon the petition, the Ministry of Education notified all the textbook publishers and schools that Chiang-Hsin-Po be included in the map of China from then on. Commenting on the event, a writer states: "Writers on geography and history, handicapped by the lack of reference material, have been induced to copy from the writings and works of foreigners . . . . (This) often led to serious errors without being conscious of them. For example, all the maps in circulation in the cotuntry now exclude Chiang-Hsin-Po from Chinese territory. The maps that are in circulation to-day are copied from those published by foreigners. It is not surprising that the foreigners' map excluded Chiang-Hsin-Po from China. If the map of China by the Chinese does not correct this point, the several thousand square li's of territory will be silently presented to the British without waiting for their mobilization of troops." (Educational Review, Vol. XXI, No. 5, May, 1929, p. 135.—In Chinese.)

Chinese writers of history and geography textbooks were not conscious of the foreigner's point of view or the foreigner's bias.

Such textbooks surely cannot help to awaken the consciousness of national sovereignty. The Chiang-Hsin-Po case shows that it was the popular awakening to national sovereignty that demanded a change in the textbooks and not a nationalistic spirit in the textbooks that caused the protest against territorial invasion.

PART II
AN ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTBOOKS

As has been pointed out before, a change in the educational aims is followed by a change in the spirit and contents of the textbooks. The aims of education have been formulated thrice, in 1903, in 1912, and in 1928. In 1922, because of the adoption of the 6-3-3 school system, new textbooks were called for, though no new educational aims were officially set up. Thus we may consider that there have been four textbook periods since the introduction of the modern school system in China—namely, 1903 to 1911, 1912 to 1922, 1922 to 1927, and 1928 to the present.

The Commercial Press of Shanghai has been the most successful in the textbook business, far out-numbering its competitors in circulations. Its most popular series for the respective periods are: The Tsui Hsin Series (the Modern Series), the Kung Ho Kuo Series (the Republican Series), the Hsin Hsueh Chih Series (the New System Series), and the Hsin Shih Tai Series (the New Age Series).*

* See A Short Sketch of the Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, July, 1929. pp. 30-31. (In Chinese.)

In the first period, the series published by the Ministry of Education ran parallel to the Modern Series of the Commercial Press. In the second, third and fourth periods, the Chung-Hua Series (the China Series), the Hsin Chao Yu (the New Education Series), and the Hsin Chung Hua Series (the New China Series), all published by the Chung Hwa Book Co., of Shanghai, were competitors of the Commercial Press textbooks.* But none of them, though more nationalistic in their make-up, has enjoyed the popularity of those of the Commercial Press.

* See Letter to Shu Hsin-Cheng on the History of Textbooks in China, by Lu Fei-Kuei, (Source Book, Vol. II, pp. 262-264.—In Chinese.)

As there is no scientific study of the Chinese school textbooks from the standpoint of nationalism and a comprehensive original study is too great a task for the present chapter, the writer has to be contented with a sample study of the textbooks with the hope that the picture presented in a cross-section will be a typical one of the relationship between the

school textbooks and nationalism.‡ He will try to show to what

‡ For another discussion of Nationalism and Chinese school textbooks, seen after the foregoing had been written, see C. H. Peake, "Nationalism in Modern China," now in press with the Columbia University Press.

extent the school textbooks inculcate nationalism and to what extent the social force of nationalism affects the structure of the textbooks. In order to have some definite points of focus, attention will be centered on the following: The temper for national prosperity, the patriotic appeal, the attitude toward Western culture, Western nations, and Western personages, the attitude toward Chinese culture, China's foreign relations, the international outlook, and the attitude taken toward national unity, national control, and national sovereignty. Attention will also be given to the questions of race and religion with an attempt to discover their nationalistic implications. Literal translations of the statements quoted from textbooks are made, so that their real significance will not be biased by interpretation. Due interest is taken in the absence of nationalism as in its presence.

With the limitations of space, time, and material on hand, this analysis is based upon a study of fifty-six textbooks used in the higher elementary schools. These fifty-six books* are

* The titles of these fifty-six books and the particular editions picked out for examination are to be found in Bibliography B of the Appendix, "List of School Textbooks Analyzed in Chapter IV." In order to give an idea as to how widely some of these textbooks were circulated, the statistics of a set of textbooks may be quoted, inasmuch as theirs happen to be available. According to the report of the Commercial Press, for the subject of Chinese National Language of the Republican series alone, they had run to over 300 editions and sold over 70,000,000 copies. (See a short Sketch of the Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, July, 1929, p. 30.—In Chinese.)

the most popular in the subjects of Chinese Language, Citizenship, History, and Geography that have been used in the higher primary schools from the first year of the Chinese Republic to the present time. For the 1912 to 1922 period, the Republican Series is selected; for the 1922 to 1927 period, the New System Series, and, for the period from 1927 to the present, the New Age Series.

The selection of these books for examination requires some explanation. First, the subjects of Chinese Language, Citizenship, History, and Geography are selected for examination because they are generally taken as the subjects most susceptible to nationalism, or, at least, in which the relationship to nationalism is more easily seen.

Second, the higher primary school instead of the lower primary school is studied because in the higher primary school the comparison is clearer. It is only there that the subjects history

and geography were generally taught as separate subjects throughout the periods under examination. From 1912 to 1922, for instance, history and geography were not taught as separate subjects in the lower primary schools, as we have previously seen,* but were incorporated in the study of the

* See Chapter III, Nationalism in the Curriculum, p. 57, Table II, "Curricula of the Lower Level of the Elementary School."

Chinese Language. It should also be pointed out that while the higher primary school in the period from 1912 to 1922 is of three years' duration, that of the periods 1922 to 1927 and from 1927 to the present is of two years. However, no difference is made to our study by this variation. It is interesting to note that from 1912 to 1922 when the higher primary school was of three years, history teaching of all three years were spent exclusively on Chinese History, whereas from 1922 to the present when the higher primary school is only of two years, one fourth of the time for history teaching is devoted to World History.

Third, the textbooks used in the Tsing Dynasty from 1905 to 1911 are not included in this present study. The only reason for their omission is that it has been impossible to collect a complete set of them at the time of writing.‡

‡ The difficulty of obtaining this series is not only due to the lack of its collection in the libraries in America, but also to the fact that it is no more on the market in China, as old textbooks have been prohibited for sale by the Ministry of Education. (See Official Bulletins of the Ministry of Education, Vol. II, No. 20, pp. 22-23, May 17, 1930). An effort to collect them from friends who had used them in their childhood has also been unsuccessful.

Fourth, the textbooks under examination are those studied by the students. The teachers' books—the Methods of Teaching or the Teacher's Manual—have not been taken for analysis. While admitting the important function of the Teacher's Manuals in affecting the way the lessons in the students' textbooks are actually taught, it has been necessary to exclude them from this study.

A word may be said in regard to the use of three terms as applied to the textbooks in this study. The word "series" means the textbooks on several subjects in one period, such as the Republican Series or the New Age Series. The word "set" denotes the textbooks on one subject in a given period. The word "book" is applied to each of the four or six volumes in each set. For instance, the set of history textbooks of the Republican Series for the higher primary school consists of six books, while that of the New System Series consists of four, etc.

The procedure of the exmination should also be noted. The textbooks of each period are studied consecutively—those of the New Republican Series first, of the New System Series second, and of the New Age Series third. Four subjects are discussed—Chinese Language, Citizenship,* History, and Geography. In the Republican Series, the textbooks on the first subject are the National Readers. Corresponding to these in the second series are the Chinese Spoken Language Readers, and, in the third series, the National Spoken Language Series. In the Republican Series, the second subject is analyzed in the Ethical Readers. The corresponding textbooks in the New System Series are those on Civics, and, in the New Age Series, those entitled the "Three Principles of the People." The corresponding textbooks for History and Geography are also discussed for all three periods.

* Citizenship is a general name used here to denote three similar subjects. In the period from 1912 to 1922, the subject was called Morals, or the "Cultivation of Self;" in the period from 1922 to 1927 it was called Civics; and, in the period from 1927 to the present, the "Three Principles of the People" or the Three "People" Principles.

THE REPUBLICAN SERIES

The National Readers

The Temper for National Power and National Wealth

The six books of this set strongly advocate national consciousness, national wealth, national progress, and national power. Many an important subject is treated as an issue for the increase of national prosperity. It matters little what the subject is—the Panama Canal,* Agriculture,§ the Development of Industry,‡ Engines,† or Railways,¶—the lesson attempts to stimulate the desire for national prosperity. Even the encouragement of such a personal virtue as perseverance ** and such a personal

* "Our country is situated on the western coast of the Pacific Ocean. After the opening of the Canal (Panama Canal), the ships of the world will strive to come to the coast of the Yellow Sea. Our nationals should take this opportunity to promote our industries and commerce in order to keep up the race with the rest of the world and to develop the natural resources of our country. Otherwise, we shall be economically oppressed and shall find no hope of revival. All depends upon the resolve of our fellow-countrymen." (Book II, Lesson 29).

§ See Book II, Lesson 36.

‡ See Book IV, Lesson 39.

† "The products of our country are made by hand and are thus expensive; the products of the foreign countries are made by machines and are thus inexpensive. Therefore, not only do our products fail to compete with those of the foreigners for profit, but we ourselves are eager to buy their goods to increase their wealth. So if we do not use the machine, we will be cutting off our road to life." (Book V, Lesson 13).

¶ See Book VI, Lesson 9.

sport as swimming §§ is related to national power. Further

** "The power of perseverance is far reaching. Its possession, in its personal signficance, can account for the difference between a virtuous and a mean man, and, in its national significance, can account for the difference between a wealthy and a destitute nation, between a strong and a weak nation." (Book V, Lesson 16).

§§ "All the nations of the world encourage this art (of swimming), especially England, as she is an ocean kingdom. Japan is also surrounded by water, and thus has placed an emphasis upon it since the past. Our country, though situated in a continent, is attached to water on the east and the south. Now when foreign relations with the countries across the seas are ten times that of the past, how can it (swimming) be ignored by our nationals." (Book II, Lesson 32).

evidence of this aspect will also be seen in the following sections.

The authors try to inculcate patriotism and the militant spirit by including war stories and war literature. Fourteen lessons may be put under this category—three are war poems and eleven are war stories. It is interesting to note that one of the poems describes the hardships of being in the army, a subject an experienced nationalist might have tried to avoid. Of the twelve military personages presented, seven of them, the majority, are feminine, and none of them lived later than the Ming Dynasty. Of the wars, three were wars with the bandits. five were wars of feudal lords, three were expeditionary wars. One lesson is the story of a Spartan woman's patriotism.

Of those fourteen lessons, three are examples of the patriotism of foreigners. One is on the Spartan woman, one is on a wall painting of the Franco-Prussian War, and the other is on the patriotism of the Japanese school children in the Russo-Japanese War. These are more effective in inculcating the spirit of modern militant nationalism than are those of native origin, which are narratives of personal chivalry, loyalty, or perseverance. Except for the three war stories of expeditionary nature which might have some indirect effect upon the attitude of the Chinese toward their neighbors in the North and South, the other Chinese war stories have no anti-foreign suggestion whatsoever.

The need for military preparedness is definitely suggested. "The world of the present day is a world of military strife." (III, 29). And, "in order to assure peace and safety, the nation must be armed." Therefore, in accordance with the statement in the editorial remarks that a fund of military knowledge will be supplied, five lessons describe the kinds and uses of modern military implements and army organization, the kinds of warships in the navy, modern firearms, and the kinds and uses of torpedoes and submarine mines. Of the duties of the citizen as listed, in a lesson, the duty to bear arms ranks second—the first being to pay taxes, the third to observe the law, and the fourth to provide for education.

The appeal to patriotism is certainly not limited to what has just been presented, which is only an exposition of one aspect of patriotism—the narrower aspect, which might be called the militant spirit. The following sections will look at the same problem from other angles.

Attitude Toward Western Civilization—Western Culture, Western Personages, Western Institutions, Etc.

The term "Wen Ming," meaning an illustrious civilization, is constantly applied to Western civilization. The nations included in it are often referred to as the "nations of illustrious civilization" or the "illustriously civilized nations," and that part of the world which is composed of such nations is called the "world of illustrious civilization" or the "illustriously civilized world." Sometimes Japan is included. The term, when used as an adjective, is synonymous with "modern" but carries with it only the good attributes which the word commands.

Here are some of the statements in these books: "All the illustriously civilized nations of the modern world have public parks." (II 25). "In the countries of Europe and America, the advancement of their civilization is so marvelous that it is almost unbelieveable." (IV 21). "The illustriously civilized nations are governed by law" (V 6). "As to how the citizens of the illustriously civilized nations treat the foreigners (on their own soil) . . . they treat them with great courtesy, even more so than they treat their own nationals." (V. 7). "In the illustriously civilized nations, education is popularized . . ." (V 20). "The holding of expositions was originated by Napoleon. All the illustriously civilized nations hold them after his pattern." (VI 11). "Now in the illustriously civilized nations, the roads are wide." (VI 34).

The authors of these books favor Western civilization, accrediting progress to science and technology. "To say that the difference between civilization and savagery lies in the extent to which the mineral resources are used is not an over-statement." (II 10). "Therefore, to differentiate between civilization and the savagery of mankind, one discovers if they (people) can take advantage of nature and the extent to which they take advantage of it." (III 25). The textbooks, therefore, accept the Western standards of superiority and inferiority and admit China's inferiority.

Western institutions and practices are described with much praise. The following are discussed: The Republican form of government, public speaking, museums, public parks, government bonds, the Red Cross, insurance, party government, public taxes, expositions, newspapers, advertisement, patents and copyrights, companies and trusts, schools for the dumb and blind, swimming,

human rights, and science and technology. In these discussions there is no criticism or sarcasm, nor is there even the element of curiosity common in Western textbook descriptions of Chinese institutions.

The picture of Western culture is also extravagantly beautiful. Westerners are orderly, brave, kind, courteous, honest, ingenious, hardworking, happy, hygienic, strong, public-minded, independent, respectful to others, obedient, cooperative, loyal to duty, and unselfish in public life. In a word, their civilization is illustrious and ideal, both as regards their national governments and individual citizens. For the sake of avoiding repetition, we shall present concrete statements on Western civilization when we examine the appraisal of Chinese civilization, for in practically all instances, the two are discussed together, never to the disadvantage of Western civilization.

Various historical passages are described in the Readers. It is interesting to note that while Sun Yat-Sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, and other revolutionary leaders are not even mentioned in them,* George Washington stands out as a

* See p. 86.

champion of democratic statesmanship. Of the ten historical personages whose portraits are included in the Readers—Washington, Rousseau, Wellington, Florence Nightingale, Bismarck, Carnegie, Gautama (Buddha), Jesus, Mohammed, Confucius—only the last named is a Chinese. It is plain that if nationalism implies the devilizing of the foreigner, it is certainly absent in this connection.

The heroes and heroines described in the Readers, including the above are: George Washington, Andrew Johnson, E. H. Hobson, Rousseau, Madame Roland, Ferdinand de Lesseps, Wellington, William Cobbett, Florence Nightingale, Henri Durant, Bismarck, Columbus, Bernard Palissy, Carnegie, J. P. Morgan, and Napoleon. Also, stories of heroic foreign girls, boys, men and women, are introduced as facts. For example, accounts are given of the Dutch boy who saved the dams, the English girl who performed her father's duty in the lighthouse, a Spartan woman who loved her state, and Robinson Crusoe.

Chinese Civilization

In accordance with the authors' purposes as stated in the editorial remarks, the "original Chinese National culture" is amplified to inculcate patriotism. To be sure, the objects of esteem are usually found in the dim past. For example, Chinese writing, together with the Egyptian, is said to be the oldest in the world. Also, the Chinese inventions of gun-powder, the compass, and printing are mentioned repeatedly. It is

claimed that those inventions helped Western civilization in its development of literature, trade, and the art of warfare. Thus, while the contrast between present-day China and the West is favorable to the latter, China's past is glorified. Another example of this past glory is the indirect exaltation of Chinese ancient ethical ideals, namely those of loyalty, filial piety, devotion, justice and heroism.

Two expeditionary movements from China are described in the Readers, one the imperialism of the Mongols in the Yuan Dynasty and the other the naval expedition of Cheng Ho to the "South Sea Islands"* in the Ming Dynasty. The idea is given

* See foot-note on page 117.

that China was once a very strong country with an extended territory.

Let us examine another side of the picture and see what weaknesses of the Chinese are enumerated. These are almost always found in the contrasts with the good traits of the "illustriously civilized nations;" sometimes the reflection is made from a discussion of a Chinese weakness and sometimes from a discussion of a Western trait of strength. Whatever the starting point, the West is always eventually the champion, and China the loser.

In the first place, the very things of which China used to boast, such as her early civilization, the inventions of firearms, the compass, printing, newspapers, and tea and silk, are recognized as being in a degenerate state. "Our country was known for the advancement of her civilization. But in modern times, she has made no progress." (I 13). After claiming the priority in the use of gun-powder and firearms, this statement is made: "[The fire-arms] which we use in our country are mostly bought from Europe and America. Recently, although we began to make them ourselves, following their methods, the success is very small and the quality is inferior to theirs." (IV 19, 20). "The Europeans improve upon the free types from time to time and with ceaseless progress. . . . The invention of free types in our country dated a thousand years ago. But without improvement, the old methods have still been followed up to the present day. Recently, though efforts have been made to initiate them, yet the machines can not be made by us. Isn't it a shame?" (VI, 12). In the tea and silk business, because of the lack of improvement. it is said that China is being supplanted more and more by Japan and other countries in the market.

In the second place, the weakness of the Chinese government is contrasted with the strength of Western governments. For example, in regard to taxation, this statement is made: "They

(England, France, Russia, Germany, the United States, Japan), have heavy taxation, but the people are comfortable and contented; we have light taxation, but the people are desperate. What makes the difference?" (VI 3).

In the third place, the weaknesses of Chinese social life are shown. The diversity of dialects, the helplessness of women in vocational activity, the employment of human beings in beastly labor, the inactivity in industries, and the evils of early marriage, are all contrasted with Western civilization.

In the fourth place, certain Chinese habits of life are deplored. While their uncleanliness, their disrespect for public property, their lack of sympathy, their disorderliness in travelling, their misbehavoir in public parks, are criticised severely, the respectability of Western habits of life, as presented in contrast, is more than any modest Westerner would claim. For instance, here is part of a lesson on travelling:

> "In my experience in travelling (in China), I found that there was noise and disturbance without any order. Sometimes it was a dispute because of an underpaid ticket, sometimes it was a struggle because of the rush for seats, sometimes it was a quarrel because of stealing. . . . But when I was travelling in Europe and America, . . . I found that their travellers pay according to the list price, and take their seats accordingly, *never* underpaying or taking somebody else's seat. The conductor *never* had to bother about that. The bedding and things are clean and neat and are *never* soiled or torn by the travellers. In time of loading or unloading, the aged, the infant, and the women always went first and the men later. *Never* did we find any disorder or conflict .... This is the real spirit of an illustrious civilization." (I 11).

In contrast to the Chinese bad habits in respect to the public roads, the Westerner is again upheld as a spotless ideal. "But the Westerners consider the spoiling of public property as disgrace unexcelled. Everybody knows how to protect the roads. That is why they are so clean. . . . Along the roads are often planted trees to shade the pedestrians. . . . One *never* hears that a limb is broken or a fruit plucked." (VI 34).

In discussing the spirit of sympathy, Chinese weakness is again expounded.

> "From my observations (in China), ... when somebody falls on the ground, the people in the market clap their hands and laugh. Unless they know the person, they seldom lend him a helping hand. In the funerals ... people gather around to watch the procession and comment on it. They talk and laugh as if they were having a good time.

... Oh, to take pleasure in somebody else's adversity! At first I thought that human nature is really fundamentally evil.

"Once I was travelling in Japan. When the ricksha was going up a slope, the ricksha coolie was making efforts to pull it up. A passer-by, neatly dressed, helped to push it. When I looked at him, I found that he was a person of the middle class. When I was in England, I happened to see a funeral car pass by in the street. It was a simple funeral without elaborate ceremonies, but all the people in the street remained silent with their hats off. Oh, these are the true citizens of an illustrious civilization! Aren't these the people that have the spirit of sympathy?" (VI 35).

To what extent are the criticisms of Chinese culture and the glorifications of Western life favorable to the cause of nationalism in China and to what extent are they unfavorable? While this question cannot be answered here, let us point out that calling attention to one's inferiority is a way of arousing nationalism, as is also the discussion of one's superiority. Notice that this motto is twice quoted in the Readers: "Sorrow and painstaking labor may bring the country to prosperity." (IV 33, V 18). Perhaps it is in that spirit that the authors have had no hesitation in deploring China's weaknesses.

It should be said, however, that whatever inferiority the authors are ready to admit of the Chinese, they do not admit the inferiority of the Chinese race. Although they do not claim that the yellow race is superior to the white, they negate the conception that "our intelligence is inferior to that of the white race." "Who can say that we can not attain to their position? The Whites are human beings; the Yellows are human beings. One can if one strives." (II 36).

National Unity and National Control

Material with direct bearing on the idea of national unity and national control is proportionately small. In one place, the unification of dialects or the popularization of a national language is urged. In another, the suggestion is made that the power of a social group's self-defense is enlarged as it expands from the family to the nation. Within the limits of national unity, local self-government is favored because of local differences, and the imposition of regulations by the central government for the sake of regularity is not favored. The right of personal freedom versus national control is also exalted. "In the Republican era, personal freedom must be highly respected. Not only private individuals can not violate it, but, also, the nation can not over-exert its power." (IV 38).

Attitude Toward Foreign Powers

While the general attitude toward Western culture is one of admiration, that toward the foreign powers is one of fear. For example, it is stated that the "world of the present day is a world of military strife" (III 29) and that life is a battlefield and commercial competition is commercial war. The books also say that the early peace settlement between the north and south in the Revolutionary War in 1911 was due to the fear that the foreigners might intervene in case war was prolonged. Furthermore, they claim that the overseas Chinese were helplessly abused by the foreigners as fish and meat before the butcher. In the last paragraph in the last book, is this statement: "Otherwise (if we fail to put into practice the ideals of the three-fold life—moral, intellectual, and physical) we shall become slaves, trodden upon and dismembered by others." (VI 38).

The countries of Europe and America are spoken of very highly. The United States of America, however, holds the foremost place. Indeed, as the authors state as a major premise for an argument for the development of industry: "Our country takes the United States as the example from which to learn." (IV 39). The United States has the greatest number of virtues, and the longest list of foreign heroes. Also, she shares with England the reputation of having powerful and well-functioning political parties, and with Switzerland and France that of having a model form of republican government. In fact, the only black mark against the United States is her treatment of the Chinese in her country: "The workers in those lands, especially the labor party of the United States, are antagonistic, because our people are hardworking and accept moderate wages, the result being that their own jobs were taken away. Therefore the ill-treatment of the overseas Chinese occurred." (I 26).

England and France are given very high places also. Their governments are spoken of as good whereas those of Turkey and Egypt as bad. Several references are made to the French Revolution also. The fine citizenship of the Englishman is highly praised.

Japan is also the subject of frequent references. Attention is called to the absence of extra-territoriality and foreign concession there. Japanese citizenship is also praised. Furthermore, the progressive changes in Japan are contrasted with the slowness with which China accepts change.

China's Foreign Relations

Little is said in these textbooks about China's foreign relations. The opening of the five ports is looked upon with favor. If blame is put anywhere for this, it is upon the Chinese.

"In the reign of Tao-Kwang of the Tsing Dynasty, the closure to sea trade was obliterated and five ports were opened for trade. . . . The European and American merchants considered our country as a profitable land and one came after the other. (It is strange) that we as the hosts of the land should complain about it .... The fault is that our industries are not developed and our commerce not improved." (III 21).

The attitude toward the treaties contracted with foreign countries is also one of self-reproach. Blaming the Chinese diplomats for failing to differentiate between international social intercourse and diplomatic negotiations, there is this statement:

> "In the past, the treaties which our country contracted with the other countries were mostly unequal. They (the diplomats) presented to the foreigners unlimited privileges such as the railways and the mines . . . as personal objects of gift. It looks as if it would be discourteous to refuse what others ask for. This is because they do not understand the difference between international social intercourse and diplomatic negotiations." (V 7).

Nothing is said of extra-territoriality, foreign concessions, and foreign control of tariff. The nearest reference is the statement of a world tourist that there is no extra-territoriality in Japan and that there are no foreign concessions there. In the proposal to decrease imported goods, no reference is made to the foreign control of the tariff rates or to the value of a protective tariff.

References are made to the overseas Chinese. They are spoken of as hard-working, thrifty, adventurous, and patriotic. It is said that they are persecuted abroad, though the capitalists like to employ them.

The International Outlook

The Readers are favorable to an international outlook. They oppose national isolation or the feeling of national self-importance. In one place they state that "Right and honor can not be claimed solely by our country. Before entering into war, one must think it over again and again." An objective examination of national disputes is urged: "Therefore in times of dispute with foreign nations, one should examine in detail the two sides of the question and should not look at the question from only one side. We, of course, know how to extend our rights and privileges and to protect our honor. But we should know that the foreign nations have their rights, privileges, and sense of honor. So we should place ourselves in their position and think from their standpoints." (V 8).

In favoring the use of foreign capital for the development of industries, the statement is made that "in making one's

livelihood, there is no national boundary." (IV 39). In regard to one aspect of the moral character of a "great citizen" it is stated that: "In matters of philanthropy and public welfare, a great citizen should do his best to promote them regardless of national or racial difference." (VI 38). Also, the need is presented for the promotion of friendly relations between nations and courteous treatment of foreign nationals on Chinese soil. Furthermore, the children are told that the duties of the "great citizen" to the world are: To give charity without consideration of national boundary, to endeavor to promote the progress of the civilization of the world, and to maintain the peace between nations. (VI 38). It should be mentioned, however, that it is believed that the peace of the world is maintained by having everybody well-armed.

In regard to races, all mankind is said to be from the same origin, and the equality of the mentality of the yellow and the white races is affirmed. The equality of the five races in China, all proved to be descendants of Huang-Ti, is upheld also with the belief that such equality is made more possible by a unified, popular government.

In regard to religion, the Readers stand for freedom of religious belief. They speak favorably of the great religions in general, but attack religious superstition. While Buddhism, Christianity and Confucianism are each spoken of very highly, Confucianism is favored. Mohammedanism and Taoism are less favored, the former because of its employment of military force and the latter because of the supernatural claims of its later followers.

The Ethical Readers

The direct method of teaching morals is employed in these ethical readers. Sometimes they expound a motto of moral conduct and sometimes they moralize on an event in the life of some historical personage. More often they combine both, either beginning or ending a lesson on the life of a man with a moral axiom.

The editorial remarks say that the strength and prosperity of the Republic depend upon the high moral character of its citizens. Some of the topics of the lessons are: self-inspection, introspection, contentment, bravery, thrift, patience, repentance, filial piety, loyalty, cleanliness, orderliness, diligence, self-help, honor, concentration, and patriotism. One may observe that the moral traits emphasized are fundamentally individualistic in outlook, as might be expected from the Chinese term for the subject—"the Cultivation of Self."

Of the one hundred persons whose lives or words are recorded or quoted in the six books, 80% of them are Chinese.

Inasmuch as practically all of the persons and mottoes of Chinese source are hundreds if not thousands of years old, the "self under cultivation" is therefore exposed to the old cultural ideals of the Chinese, except for the idea of loyalty to the king. Thus the Readers consciously or unconsciously mould the Chinese Youth to the cultural ideals of the past.

The national appeal is occasionally made in connection with these personal ideals. For example, in speaking of the personal virtues of self-reliance, savings, and having an occupation, and of the more social virtues of obedience to law and charitableness, attention is called to their bearing upon national strength and prosperity. Four references are made to the duty of bearing arms or laying down one's life for the country, which are more modern virtues. Also, the appeal is made to the youth to be citizens like those of great nations or nations with illustrious civilizations. Furthermore, emphasis is placed on the "public morals" or "social morals" of these nations—the love of country, orderliness in public and respect for public property, which the author seems to find lacking from China's long record of ethical writings and biographies. References are also made to one's duty to the world or to humanity in the abstract.

There is one more aspect of the Ethical Readers that may interest us. Of the heroes described or quoted, nineteen, or 20 per cent. of the total are of foreign origin.* Of the fifteen foreign

* Contrast this with the French Moral Curriculum for the preparatory course, in which, out of forty heroes, only three or 7.5 per cent. are foreigners. See C. J. H. Hayes, France: A Nation of Patriots, pp. 40-41. Columbia University Press, 1930.

persons whose nationality is recorded, eleven are Anglo-Saxon—six Englishmen, and five Americans, three are Japanese and one is a Greek. Thus the international outlook of the Ethical Readers may be said to be Anglo-Saxon in emphasis.

Chinese History

In this set of Chinese History textbooks, Books, I, II, III and IV, the first cycle, give the chronological history of China from primitive days to the foundation of the Chinese Republic, centering it around certain persons or historical events. Books V and VI constitute the second cycle and review the historical development by dynasties, with special attention to cultural achievements. Of the 101 lessons in this set of textbooks, 25, or about one-fourth of them, deal with the period from the founding of the Tsing Dynasty to the Republican era. Inasmuch as China's contacts and conflicts with the new world commenced in the latter half of the Tsing Dynasty, it is clear that that phase of China's history has not been over-stressed. Indeed, the authors' purpose, "to enable the children to

understand the long history of the national culture," as stated in the editorial remarks, is well fulfilled in this historical story of more than four thousand years.

Like all old type history textbooks, the history of the pre-modern period is chiefly an account of the rise and fall of kingdoms and dynasties, the military achievements and defeats of certain warriors or kings, and the cultural developments and changes in art, in literature, in philosophy, and in religion, as centered around certain great personalities. Except for what lesson the ancient and pre-modern history conveys in regard to China's cultural and military prestige in the past and except for the attitude toward religions and races which we shall deal with a little later, there is little to interest us from the standpoint of nationalism.

Race

While no reference is made to the status of various races of the world, constant references are made to the various racial elements in China. In accordance with the statement in the editorial remarks, efforts are made to promote harmonious relationships between the five major races of China—the Hans (the Chinese proper), the Manchus, the Mongols, the Mohammedan Turks, and the Tibetans. The five races are asked to join hand in hand in the development of the Republic, in which equality will be enjoyed by all. No statement is made of the inferiority of any one of the five major races. On the contrary, even the Mongols and the Manchus are praised for what they accomplished. Thus, credit for the progress of Chinese civilization is given to all of the races, not to any one in particular.

China's Military Past

Constant detailed references to the various military expansions of China in the past are made. The Chinese youth are reminded of the imperialistic achievements of the Chin Dynasty, the Han Dynasty, the Tang Dynasty, and the Yuan Dynasty, for which the nation "China," the race "Han," the name "Tang Jen" (meaning Chinese), and the Mongolian race, are respectively named. The imperialistic expansion of the Mongols under the leadership of Genghis Khan is also taken as an example of China's territorial expansion. These neighboring peoples—the Mongols, Tartars and Turks—and these neighboring territories—Chinese Turkestan, Korea, Japan, India, Burma, Siam, Annam, Java, and the Malay States—are repeatedly referred to as Chinese subjects or tributaries in one or more periods in its history. For example, Annam is mentioned eight different times in accounts of China's efforts to subjugate her. Japan is mentioned as China's tributary in the past.

China's Cultural Past

In presenting the history of China's early civilization, the inventions of the compass, printing, and gun-powder are referred to as factors which contribute to present day welfare and which also helped the advance of civilization. General statements are also made to the effect that China spread her civilization to Europe, to Japan, to India, to Turkey, to Persia, to Annam, to the Tibetians, to the Mongolians, and to others.

However, no cultural superiority is assumed in these books. No such statements as the following are made: "When (the European's) ancestors were ignorant savages living in rude huts, the Chinese were already highly civilized."* Instead, it is said

* Ellsworth Huntington, Asia, A Geography Reader. (Quoted from Bessie Pierce, Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks, p. 182. University of Chicago Press, 1930.)

that the Chinese brought their civilization from the west (west of China), that, later Indian civilization was introduced into China, and that Western learning came from Europe in the Ming Dynasty and in the latter half of the Tsing Dynasty. Also, the progress in the adoption of Western culture after the Opium War is looked upon as a hopeful sign for China's culture.

The Attitude Toward Various Religions

Religion is treated fairly in these books. The establishment of Buddhism and of the Catholic Religion in China are favourably recorded. However, Confucianism (the "Scholar's religion") is given a higher place; the sovereigns' respect for it in the past is pointed out, as the correlation between it and the prosperity and peace of the country. This is incidentally contrasted with Buddhism and Taoism and its results in the disorderliness and fall of government. However, Buddhism, Taoism and Christianity are also said to be good religions with high ideals.

The introduction of Christianity is almost always discussed with the introduction of Western science. It is not associated with imperialism. Distinction is also made between the Catholic religion and the Protestant religion. The people in China who suspect, scorn, or persecute those two religions are called "ignorant people;" freedom of religious belief is upheld. Thus the advocation of religious freedom is in line with the advocation of the equality of races—both are for the purpose of national unity, and are in harmony with the idea of the integrity of culture, religion, and race within the vast territory.

China's Foreign Relations

Eight lessons are devoted to China's foreign relations in the modern period (or nine, if we begin with the Treaty of

Nerchinsk with Russia in 1689. The topics of those lessons are: the Opium War, the War with England and France, the Expedition to Hsin Kiang (Chinese Turkestan), the Franco-Chinese War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Boxer Uprising, and the Russo-Japanese War.

Brevity and absence of emotion are the chief characteristics of these historical accounts. No comment is made on the events or on the lessons they teach. To illustrate their general nature, the lesson on the Opium War is translated here.

"LESSON EIGHT—THE OPIUM WAR

"During the period of despair in the Tsing Dynasty, the greatest blow, which had also the most far-reaching effects, was the Opium War. Opium is produced in India. As early as the Ming Dynasty, it was often brought into China. After the British occupied India, the amount imported into China increased. When Hsuan Tsung (Tao Kuang) . . . ascended the throne. he prohibited it strongly, but without success. Lin Tse-Hsu attacked the evils of opium very severely. He said: 'If opium is not put to an end, after several decades the country will be so weak and the people so poor that not only will there be no way of raising public revenue but there will be no people capable of being trained for the soldiery.' Hsuan Tsung then sent Lin Tse-Hsu to Kuangtung to stop the opium trade.

"When Tse-Hsu arrived at Canton, he immediately asked the British merchants to relinquish their opium, or else their food supplies would be cut off. The British merchants reluctantly submitted 20,000 chests of opium to which Tse-Hsu set fire. He also ordered them never to trade opium again.

"Since the British lost great profits, they sent troops to attack Canton. Failing to win the battle there, they created disturbances along the sea coast and attacked Nanking. Hsuan Tsung was terrified. He reproached Lin Tse-Hsu and sent delegates to negotiate with the British for peace. Indemnity was paid for their military expenses and for the opium destroyed. Five ports—Shanghai, Canton, Foochow, Amoy, and Ningpo—were opened for trade. Hongkong was ceded to them also."

The territorial ambitions of the Foreign powers are frequently pointed out in these books, and the idea is given that China is constantly losing territory to them. Little mention is made of the paying of indemnity, and none, of the treaties enacted. The term "unequal treaties" is never used, nor are the terms "extra-territoriality," "tariff control," and "foreign settlements,"

Of the countries referred to in China's foreign relations, Russia is most frequently mentioned, possibly because she has the longest contact with China's frontier. England and France rank second; next come Japan asd Germany. Germany is only mentioned twice: "Germany began first by occupying Kiaochowwan with troops, demanding that the government lease it for 99 years" (IV 13) and "The German minister was murdered in the Boxer Revolt" (VI 14). The following is the only statement about America: "China's position was in great danger. The Americans, fearing that the Powers themselves might struggle (over China's territory) and disturb the peace of the world, advocated the Open Door Policy to preserve (our) territorial integrity. The Powers followed their policy. Thus ended the talk of the Division (of China)." (IV 13).

Chinese Geography

This set of Chinese Geography textbooks consists of six books; the first four deal with Chinese geography and the latter two with world geography. Of the 39 lessons in the first part, 22 are devoted to the twenty-two provinces, three to the three special territories of Mongolia, Tibet, and Tsing Hai, four to the country as a whole, two to the capital and cities, one to the leased territories and seven to the national boundaries. In the second part, every nation, people, and continent is discussed briefly as well as the world as a whole from the standpoint of physical and human geography.

The pedagogical philosophy of the authors does not interest us at the present time. We wish to find out here what attitudes their contents suggest in regard to race, to national sovereignty, to the past and future possibilities of China, and to foreign peoples and nations.

Race

No comparison is made between the inherent quality of the white and yellow races, though in naming in order the five races of the world, the yellow comes first and white second. It is stated that the yellow race is the most populous and the white the strongest in the present day world. Some races are said to be inferior. The suggestion is also made that in the present day world, it is the law of nature that the people with an "illustrious civilization" will survive and the ignorant peoples will perish. In regard to the racial elements within China, the diversity of races in China's frontier provinces and in the inland areas is shown. While the backwardness of the minor races, such as the Miao and the Yiao in the South-western provinces is recorded, the major races—the Mongolians, the Tibetans, and the Mohammedan Turks—are spoken of as possessing different cultures without reference to their quality. Friendly relations between various racial elements are urged.

National Sovereignty

Although nothing is said about the foreign control of tariff or the extra-territorial rights of the foreigners, there is an unmistakable accent of nationalism in several ways. First, all the territories leased or annexed by foreign countries are recorded not only in the special chapter on leased territories, but also in the lessons on each province which has leased territory. Second, much space is devoted to China's boundary. Seven lessons are given exclusively to that subject besides the general discussions of the frontier provinces and territories. Even in the discussions of the non-border and land provinces, the military strategic points are always pointed out. Third, the territories over which China no longer has sovereignty, such as Annam, Burma, Korea, Central Asia, etc., are still spoken of as once having belonged to China and having been taken away by other Powers. Fourth, the suggestion is very strong that the Powers seized the lost territory by force and that China must still be aware of their aggressiveness, especially that of Russia. On a whole, the picture presented is that Japan, Russia, England, and France, all having immediate contacts with Chinese territory, are her unscrupulous neighbors. It may be concluded that the authors were strongly dominated by the "Division of China" complex.

The picture of China is a very pleasant one. The scenic places of the country, the productivity of the land and its potential resources, are presented. As it is the first Republic in Asia, the people are urged to unite together to build up a new China.

One-third of the geography in the higher primary school is on world geography. As almost all the countries of the world are covered in fourteen lessons, not much can be said about the nationalistic implications of such a highly abbreviated record.

Almost all the countries of the world are given separate discussions. The things for which they are famous are presented, with their history, their chief products, their chief cities, their population, their scenery, and their mountains and rivers. All the accounts are very favorable to the countries and races under consideration; the negro race is the only one that is called inferior. Reflections are made on China in two ways: First, in a comparison of the size of territory or population of China with that of the country under consideration, and, second, by taking to heart the lesson of peoples whose countries have been dominated by others, such as the Annamese, the Indians, and the Egyptians. Sympathy is generally expressed for the natives who are oppressed by the European Powers. Antagonism to the aggression of the Powers is likewise expressed. Overseas Chinese are seldom mentioned in these discussions.

THE NEW SYSTEM SERIES

The next series of textbooks is the New System Series, written for the New School System, the so-called 6-3-3 Plan, which China adopted in 1922. This series was written according to the outlines laid down by the curriculum committee appointed by the National Educational Conference. We shall see the likenesses and differences of the spirit of nationalism as manifested in this series to that in the preceding series.

The Chinese Spoken Language Readers

The Chinese spoken language is used in this as well as in other subjects of the elementary school curriculum. Although the movement for the use of the spoken language in writing had a democratic origin, as has been pointed out in the previous chapter, the popular support for it as well as one of its effects was the unification of China. The inherent changes in the contents which necessarily go with the change from literature of the classical style to the vernacular have been mentioned before and need not be repeated here.

If a strong international outlook, an exposition of the common (common things and common people), a pacifist outlook, a calm disposition as compared with a desperate disposition for progress, a general sympathy for the masses, a faith in the friendliness of the world of nations, and an emphasis on child interest are implied by the democratic ideal in education, these textbooks are truly faithful to it. There would seem to be little nationalism in text books of this kind. But the absence or presence of nationalism does not affect the interest of the study, as, after all, what we want to discover is the relationship between nationalism and school textbooks. Thus the absence of nationalism should interest us in an equal degree.

The desire for national power and national wealth is not noticeable. Nor are such statements made as those occurring in the previous series, in which the world was called a battlefield. Moreover, the contrast between the strength, prosperity, and advancement of the Western countries and the weakness, poverty, and backwardness of China is seldom found. The Western institutions which were introduced through the textbooks as new objects of interest and importance have become so common to the authors, if not also to the Chinese public in general, that a further description of them does not seem necessary. The line of distinction both in the hemispherical origin of cultures and in the differences in the cultural levels of various matters is not made at all. In other words, the novelty of Western culture is gone, the feeling of national conflicts has disappeared, and national-consciousness is, therefore, nullified.

The spirit of the contents is individualistic and proletarian rather than nationalistic. The books show sympathy with the

poor, emphasize the sanctity of labor, and favor stories of people which have personal rather than national significance. These stories aim to instill good, common citizenship rather than enterprising heroism. Of the 200 lessons in the four books of this set, 55 or over 25 per cent. of them are stories of foreign peoples and lands, including a number from English classical literature. With the possible exception of six—Wellington, Washington, Marco Polo, Florence Nightingale, Oliver Goldsmith, and Elizabeth Fry,—the rest of the foreign personnel are common people and children, the translation of whose names would be of no signficance. While six lessons are devoted to the story of Washington and one to his speeches, the life of Sun Yat-Sen is not even presented.

The spirit of these textbooks is one of pacifism rather than one of militancy. In the stories of soldiers or officers and the common people, the latter are almost always made the heroes of the lessons. The military man is almost always defiled. For example, the lesson, a poem describing the miserable life of the soldier, speaks of the home-sickness, the brutality, and the insignificance of the life of the enlisted man. In the whole poem there is only one line which still justifies the bearing of arms: "Unless I am insulted by the brutish, I swear not to kill for any cause."

It would be hardly correct to say that there is no patriotism in these books, as stories of patriotic children are given. However, in them, also, the militant spirit is absent. The boy patriot is always one who protests against aggression by passive resistence rather than by resorting to military means. It may be mentioned in passing that in a poem on flowers, the peony, which the poem calls nature's gift to represent China, is said to be far superior to the cherry-blossom (the national flower of Japan). Such a statement seems out of harmony with the spirit of international good-will in the rest of the books. As a rule, there is no antagonism toward other nations.

In order to compare more specifically this set of textbooks with those on the same subject in the following period, let us analyze more clearly the lessons of poems and plays. Thirty-eight lessons are given to drama and poetry, ten to dramas and and twenty-eight to poems. The four dramas which constitute the ten lessons have nothing to do with nationalism. The first is a trial which gives justice to a man who was cheated by a conspiracy of his friends. The second is on the punishment of the door keeper of a wealthy man who extracted money from a fisherman. The third drama describes the parting sorrow of two brothers, the older of whom provided for the family by becoming a soldier and now has to go to the front. The fourth drama is on So Chin, who seeks for governmental office, and portrays the blandishing attitude of people before pomp. All of these plays seem to speak in behalf of the lowly and the oppressed.

Of the twenty-eight poem lessons, seventeen, or about two-thirds, may be called romantic; five are on labor and the life of workers and peasants; two are stories of child interest; and four may be said to have direct bearing upon the subject of nationalism. By romantic poems are meant poems that speak of nature,—flowers, the weather, seasons, clouds, snow, birds, scenery, etc. In the four poems of nationalistic bearing, one is on the misery of a soldier, one is on the "Dawn," implying an aspiration for the dawn of China, one is a story of Mu Lan, a lady soldier, and one expresses the love for one's "Fatherland."

Civics

"Citizen" and "civics" are one word in Chinese,—"Kung Ming," which means a public member. This does not carry the nationalistic accent which the word "national" carries. The subject of civics teaches how to be a public member in any type of society or community. The terms "citizen," "citizenship," and "civics" are terms newly introduced into China; so also are their translations and their concepts. The conception of "society" in its abstract sense, a dominant one in these textbooks, implies social rather than national consciousness. In other words, the nation is only one form of community in the range of communities which extends from the family to humanity as a whole. Then, too, as civics is a new subject in the curriculum introduced from another national school system, the influence of the civic contents from foreign educational practice can be readily understood.

According to the editorial remarks, these textbooks "contain material on family life, school life, city life, national life, international life, and social life." Their aim is "to develop intelligent citizens who are loyal and courageous in service." These remarks contrast well with the aim of the Ethical Readers of the preceding series: "To take national education as the aim and to formulate the foundation for nationals of noble character." Of course, in these Civics Readers references to the nation are made in connection with the lessons on the political machinery of the nation, the legislature, election, the president, the duties and rights of the citizens, etc. But, in other ways, the nation is not held up as a symbol for loyalty. In support of this statement, note the two following features. First, "society" in its abstract sense is referred to instead of, not in addition to, the "nation." This is very different from the textbooks of the preceding period in which even swimming was encouraged in the name of national salvation. The lack of such national consciousness is seen most clearly in this set of Civic textbooks in the first 22 lessons, before the political institutions are discussed. These are some of the statements found in that section of this set of books: "If the people in *society* are healthy, progress in *society* will be very great" (I 2); "We shall not only do so

(obey sensible orders) at home, but later also in *society*" (I 3); "In short, as we, human beings, live together in a *society*, we should bear in mind the spirit of mutual help" (I 8); "In selecting our vocation, the most important thing is to select a vocation that is beneficial to *society*; on the one hand, it can maintain one's livelihood and on the other it can serve *society*" (II 1); "We can take advantage of an Annual Arbor Day to beautify nature in order to fulfil our sacred duty of service to *society*" (II 2); "In the future, when you serve *society* you should also have this spirit (the spirit of not getting anything which does not belong to you)." (I 5); "We should not only respect the rights of others while we are in schools, but we should also have that spirit when we serve *society* in the future." (II 6).

Second, along with the authors' interest in society in the abstract, is the absence of national appeals. The three lessons, on Savings, on Vocations, and on Taxes, are the more outstanding examples of this. In examining three corresponding lessons in the series of the previous period with identical titles (Ethical Readers I 11, I 15, and National Readers VI 3), the absence of national appeals in the Civic Readers is plain. National life, in these books, is but one of the many forms of life in the wide range between home life and international life. The political outlook cultivated in these books is one of democratic, socialistic, and international aspirations. They stand for a representative form of government, the equality of women, the control of public policies, internal and international, by public opinion, and the freedom of individuals as interpreted in the traditional Western world. Also, they advocate national control of natural resources, fundamental industries, and public utilities and better conditions for workers. Furthermore, they favor better international understanding between peoples, international opinion in guiding international policies, disarmament (reduction of armaments) in China,* and the League of Nations. Such a political outlook

* A chapter is devoted to each of the chief duties of a citizen—to pay taxes, to bear arms, to provide education, to obey the law. But the chapter that corresponds to the subject of bearing arms is limited entirely to the necessity for reduction of armaments in China.

is decidedly a liberal one as compared with a nationalistic or conservative one, although, of course, the state control of the major industries is a form of economic nationalism.

It would be incorrect to say that these Civic textbooks fail to recognize the problem of China's sovereignty. References are made to foreign interference in China's sovereignty, to the exercise of extra-territoriality by foreigners, to foreign concessions in China, and to the importance of the Far Eastern question. But no hostility or anti-foreign feeling is suggested,

Contrasts between the shortcomings of China and the advancement of the "illustriously civilized nations" are much less frequent than they were in the National Readers of the preceding period. However, China's weaknesses as seen in the carelessness toward public property, the lack of interest in public affairs, the low position assigned to women, the ignorance of the common people, the unskilfulness of the laborers, and the industrial backwardness are revealed.

Chinese History

This set of textbooks on Chinese history consists of four books with 18 lessons in each. According to the editorial remarks, these books are based upon the history outlines as stated for the New School System: "In the fifth year (of the elementary school, which is the first year of the upper elementary school), it (this set) teaches national history, emphasizing the dissolution and unification of races and the development of culture and learning, etc. In the sixth year (of the elementary school, which is the second year of the upper elementary school), it teaches (1) the major events of national history with special attention to the social and national changes, and (2) the major events of world history, such as the origin of Western civilization, the Renaissance, the founding of the various nations, the World War, democratic movements, etc." In accordance with the principles as stated, a record of the racial, cultural, social, and national changes is given in the first three books, and world history in the fourth. So, although the subject is called "Chinese history" in the upper elementary school curriculum, 25 per cent. of it is devoted to world history. In the upper elementary school of the previous period, even with an additional year, the subject "Chinese history" was entirely devoted to Chinese history.

In the Chinese history textbooks of the previous period, some pride was taken in China's cultural past and in her military achievements. Also, the harmony between the various races in China was suggested. The outlook of the Chinese History textbooks which we are now examining, however, is quite different. It is more objective, disinterested, and naturalistic. The books point out that the history of China, in the ancient as well as the subsequent periods, is a series of conflicts between the various races in and around China and not one of harmonious relations (cf. III 2 of this series with III 2 of the Republican series).

As for China's cultural past, the developments in art, in literature, in dress, in customs, in the use of tools, and in political institutions are discussed in greater detail than heretofore. Culture is not looked upon as a static thing but as an evolutionary process. Furthermore, there is no boasting about the ancient culture of China. The inventions of the compass and gun-

powder are not mentioned, nor is their alleged contribution to Western civilization intimated. Doubt is expressed regarding the accuracy of some of the accounts of the highly advanced forms of civilization commonly accredited to ancient China.

Nor are the military activities in Chinese history elaborated upon as they were in the preceding series. On the whole, military achievements are looked upon, not as national achievements, but rather as the achievements of certain individuals or groups of individuals. Various religions are discussed in much the same way as in the last series.

Let us proceed to an examination of how China's foreign relations are presented and of the kind of international outlook suggested. Of the 64 lessons on Chinese history, 6 lessons are devoted to a discussion of China's foreign relations. The titles are: The Opium War, The Extinction of Annam and Burma, the Korean Problem, the Boxers, Foreign Relations in the Tsing Dynasty, and the Place of the Republic in the international World. Each of these lessons is merely a brief summary. For example, the Treaty of Nerchinsk, the Opium War and the War with England and France are all discussed in 487 words in the lesson on the Opium War. Although the term "unequal treaties" is not used yet, the exercise of extra-territoriality by foreigners, foreign control of customs, and foreign privileges in mining and railroad building are mentioned. However, there is no patriotic appeal in the accounts of these events; they are purely objective.

The outlook of these books is favorable to internationalism. They believe that such an outlook is helpful to China's adoption of Western Civilization. In order that the children in the elementary schools will have a better understanding of the international world, the last semester is devoted to a study of the major movements in the Western nations and their national histories. Also, the attitude of foreign powers toward China is shown as a peaceful one; for example, their sympathy for the Student Movement of 1919 and their willingness to return the leased territories to China is pointed out. Furthermore, the books show faith in the League of Nations, in arbitration, and in the coming of world peace. The only national appeal seems to be that since the powers have done their part in respecting China's sovereignty, it is up to China to do hers. "But China from now on should make unification a realization, improve her governmental administration, in order to stand on an equal footing in the international world. In order to do this, we fellow-countrymen have to strive ourselves" (III 18).

Chinese Geography

As in the Republican Series, part of the subject of Chinese Geography in this series is devoted to world geography. In the four books for use in the higher elementary school, the last

one or 25 per cent. of the whole is on world geography. The books are written as a traveller's account—the diary of a child travelling throughout China and around the world. For China, this imaginary traveller gives reports of the means of transportation, the map location, the large mountains and rivers, the climate, the beautiful sights, relics, and the scenery, the products and resources, the customs, the means of livelihood, and the living conditions of the people. Unlike the preceding series, the strategic spots in warfare and territorial integrity and national boundaries are not stressed in this series. The only references to China's borders are these: Russia is spoken of as intruding upon China's frontier in four references, and the boundary dispute of Burma between China and Great Britain is mentioned as an unsettled case.

According to the editorial remarks, China's foreign relations will be discussed throughout the book. Let us examine three lessons which stand out for their patriotic accent—those on Amoy Island, the Port of Emigration; Leased and Ceded Territories in Kwangtung; Kinchow Peninsula, the Memorial Place of National Humiliation. There is one high point in the first of these. It speaks of the Kimoi Island as a fortification for defense of Amoy since the Formosa was annexed by Japan. The second lesson describes the status of Hong Kong, Macao, and Kwangchow Wan in a matter-of-fact account. No patriotic enthusiasm is incited. The strongest statement made is that with the reference to Macao: "At present Portugal still wants to extend (their territory) which makes negotiations boring." The third lesson would seem to be patriotic, but its title cannot be over-interpreted. Only two out of five paragraphs in that lesson can in any way claim to be patriotic in their presentation. The two paragraphs are:

> "Kinchow Peninsula is an extension of Liaotung, with two excellent ports, Dairen and Port Arthur. They were leased by Russia in 1896 and later transferred to Japan. In 1915 Japan forced us to make a treaty for an extension of time. Although it was unanimously denied by the people of our country, Japan has not returned them in spite of the expiration of the lease. Therefore the Kinchow Peninsula is our land of national humiliation.
>
> "Dairen Bay is situated in the east of the peninsula. Its harbor is deep and its water does not freeze in winter, thus it is considered the best port for trade. Through the efforts of the Japanese, commerce increases every day. The trade of Ying-Kow is almost absorbed by it. Although we have opened the Hulutao Island to meet the situation, yet because of financial insufficiency progress is very slow." (III 1).

So after all, what is cantioned as patriotic is largely patriotic in name only. Even Huang Hua Kang, the tomb of

the 72 greatest heroes in the Revolution who laid down their lives that the nation might live, captured the attention of this imaginary traveller only to this extent: "There are famous places (in Canton) such as the Chen Hai Low (The Five Storey Pagoda) the Huang Hua Kang (The Yellow Flower Hill), etc." (II 14).

Foreign settlements and the foreigners' summer resorts are also referred to in the lessons where they are on the traveller's route. However, they are merely mentioned. In the last two summary chapters of Book III—"The Bird's Eye View of China,"—China's international contacts are left out of the picture entirely. Indeed, this is very much a child's travelling account. As far as the pedagogical aspect of these textbooks is concerned, there is little doubt that the school children would get a very appreciative understanding of their country from them.

As has been mentioned before, one of the four books, 25 per cent. of the whole, is given to world geography. When an account of a round-the-world tour covering five continents and practically all the nations and peoples of the world is condensed to 48 pages, it is not surprising that proper names occupy a considerable proportion of space. In general, the traveller's route is described, and the chief features of different places are mentioned. After naming the chief mountains and rivers, commercial interests are dominant. In Continental Europe, considerable attention is paid to the "sightseeing" features and to the new boundaries made after the World War. As for the colonies, the chief feature seems to be the naming of their political possessors. The overseas Chinese are mentioned in the account on the "South Sea Islands" and in that on America.

Of the more advanced nations, most interest is taken in the United States. Two lessons are entirely devoted to it. Even Wall Street, the Statue of Liberty, the Washington Monument, and Manhattan Island are mentioned. Also, Soviet Russia is discussed favorably. Its political organization is spoken of, and it is praised for its "new spirit" of thrift, labor, simple living, and its prohibition on drinking and gambling. The colonies of the British Empire are described. While the ambition of Great Britain is mentioned, no reference is made to their oppression, nor is the word "Imperialism" introduced. Englishmen are said to be "steady and persevering," Frenchmen are praised for their "aesthetic sense," the Swiss for their "cordiality to travellers," and the Dutch for their "diligence, endurance, and life of cleanliness." No ill-feeling is incited toward any nation.

THE NEW AGE SERIES

The New Age Series of textbooks was written to meet the new age created by the triumph of the Nationalist Movement in 1927. The new spirit in which this series was written has

been presented already in the previous discussion on the aims of education and on the curriculum promulgated by the Nationalist Government. One may recall that the spirit of revolution, of science, of labor, and of struggle—in brief, the spirit of the Three Principles of Sun Yat-Sen—was dominant.

It is generally understood that this series is more nationalistic than the foregoing series. Even without an examination of the textbooks, common sense would justify such a conception from a consideration of the new aims of education, the outlines of the new curriculum, the exercise of governmental censorship, and the spirit of the new government. However, a careful analysis must be made to answer the following two questions: In what ways are the contents nationalistic? How do these books compare with the foregoing series in their nationalistic elements?

The National Spoken Language Readers

According to the editorial remarks, these Readers "endeavor to inculcate revolutionary and progressive thinking, to develop practical and scientific skill, and to cultivate the kind of character which is thoroughly congenial to the ideals of social democracy and group living."

But it seems to the present writer that the following three ideas are the most dominant in these Readers; first, patriotism, second, the spirit of protest, and, third, interest in the lives, sufferings and hardships of the lowest stratum of society. Patriotism falls under the realm of nationalism, but the proletarian interest hardly belongs to the same category, as it is usually socialistic and international in outlook. The spirit of protest when applied to the national group rightfully belongs to the discussion of nationalism. With this in mind, let us remember that nationalism is not the only ideal around which the Readers are centered.

The spirit of discontent with human injustice is dominant in these Readers as contrasted with the spirit of anxiety for power and wealth in the Republican Series or with the Spirit of peace and ease in the New System Series. Out of the 168 lessons in the four books in this set, 53 are on subjects of revolution and patriotism. Out of this number, 24 may be said to be devoted to revolutions, revolutionary stories, and patriotism. Out of this number, 24 may be said to be devoted to revolutions, revolutionary stories, and revolutionaries, and 29 to patriotism, patriotic stories, and patriots. Besides these, there are 28 lessons on the hardships of the oppressed classes—women and workers—and seven lessons on the overseas Chinese in the "South Sea Islands"* with appeals to patriotism and denunciation of imperialism. These 89 lessons, constituting

* By "South Sea Islands" or "Malay Archipelago" is meant the whole territory south and southeast of the South China Sea, including all the

colonies of Great Britain, France, Holland, and America, in Southeastern Asia, such as the Straits Settlements, Borneo, Java, Philippine Islands, Indo-China, etc.

more than half of the lessons in these Readers, show the element of discontent, struggle, and protest against all forms of oppression in the contents.

Patriotism and the Spirit of Revolution

In order to see more clearly what the 53 lessons on patriotism and revolution are about, we shall list the titles of the lessons, grouping them as patriotic dramas, patriotic songs and poems, patriotic stories and stories of revolutions. These 53 lessons are a little over 30 per cent. of the total.

	Number of lessons
PATRIOTIC DRAMAS (13 LESSONS).	
The Berlin Surrender	4
Soo Wu in Siberia (Patriot in Han Dynasty)	5
"La Derniere Classe"	1
Kao Chien-Li Playing the Lute (Patriot in Chin Dynasty)	3
PATRIOTIC SONGS AND POEMS (7 LESSONS).	
The National Flag	1
The Liberty Bell (Hu Shih's Poem written for the Korean Independence Movement of 1919)	1
The Precious Sword (Poem by Shih Ta-Kai, a revolutionary leader of the Taiping Revolution)	1
Man-Chiang-Hung (Poem by Yo Fei, a patriot of the Sung Dynasty)	1
Mourning for Greece (Translation of poem by George Byron)	2
A Poem for the Four Heroes' Tomb (Heroes of the Revolution)	1
PATRIOTIC STORIES AND STORIES OF REVOLUTIONS (19 LESSONS).	
Two Fables of Anti-Oppression	2
A Girl Patriot of the Spring-Autumn Period	1
The Ignorance of a Chinese Envoy in the Tsing Dynasty	1
Stories of Four Patriots in the Boxers Revolt	4
Revolution in Formosa	2
Four Stories of the Taiping Revolution	4
Two Revolutionary Organizations	1
The Origin of the Women's Bobbed Hair in Siam	1
Byron Helped Greece	1
Two Fishermen in the Liaotung Peninsula	1

	Number of lessons
PATRIOTS AND REVOLUTIONARIES (9 LESSONS).	
Shih Ke-Fa (Patriot of the Ming Dynasty)	1
Shih Ta-Kai (Revolutionary of the Taiping Revolution)	1
Cheng Chen-Kung (Patriot and Revolutionary of the Ming Dynasty)	2
Lo Fu-Hsing (Revolutionary in the Tsing Period)	1
Gandhi	1
Yo Fei (Patriot of the Sung Dynasty)	1
Chen So-Nan (Patriot of the Sung Dynasty)	1
Sun Yat-Sen	1
ON REVOLUTION AND PATRIOTISM (5 LESSONS).	
The Right Cause for War—Freedom	1
The Value of Sacrifice	1
The Military Academy at Whampao	1
True Bravery	1
The Difference between Revolution and Rebellion	1

The Song of the National Flag is the first lesson of its kind to be included in the textbooks we have examined so far. Its central thought is a pledge of willingness to lay down one's life for the country. Notice also that the appeal to patriotism in these books is made chiefly by dramas and poems. In fact, all the dramas included are patriotic. However, many of the poems portray the life of the lowest social classes—their hardships and the injustice done them. Such poems far outnumber those on patriotism.

Foreign Heroes

The list of foreign heroes and heroines in this series is shorter than in the preceding series and is radically different. No longer are Washington, Wellington, Napoleon and Bismarck discussed. The only heroes of foreign birth included are Socrates, Marco Polo, Tolstoy, Gandhi, Byron, Voltaire and Samuel Johnson. These persons seem to exemplify the spirit of protest or to possess literary ability, or both. Foreign stories, as we can see, are very greatly reduced in number.

Chinese and Western Culture

Although this series is in many ways different from the previous series, in one way it is the same. Criticisms of Chinese traits are as severe as before. For example, the Chinese are criticised for their lack of group spirit, for their lack of the scientific spirit, for their solemn, dry social life, for their women's smoking, and for their lack of political con-

sciousness, while the Europeans and Americans are praised for their group spirit, the French for their "artistic social intercourse," for their smoking etiquette.* Englishmen are said to

* "Except for the prostitutes, (European) women consider smoking disgraceful." (I 45).

possess steady, dignified dispositions. Also, a comparison is made between the wonderful progress of America since Colonial days and the absence of the political senses in the Chinese of the "South Sea Islands." The only comparison favorable to the Chinese is that between Chinese and Western printing. Even there, while accrediting the excellent quality of printing to the Chinese, the fine democratic character of printing in the West is upheld.

Little attention is given to China's cultural past. The compass and gun-powder are no longer mentioned, and of the six lessons on printing only one is on the invention of Chinese printing, while four are on the invention of printing in the West and one is a comparison of the two. However, interest is taken in China's traditional exporting trades, such as chinaware, silk, and tea.

The International Outlook and China's Foreign Relations

It is difficult to say just exactly what attitude the authors of this series want the student to take towards war. With the exception of a poem which is anti-war in sentiment, war is justified when the cause is right, for example, in the cause of freedom—anti-imperialism and anti-militarism. Also, the spirit of protest and the sympathy for revolt are so great that they might be called militant. But, unlike the Republican Series, no attention is paid to the knowledge of war weapons or to military organization.

Sympathy for revolt is extended to the historical past as well as to other "oppressed nations" of the world, such as Korea, Formosa, India, and Greece. The idea of revolt is extended even to the animal world. The terms "imperialism" and "anti-imperialism" are not only introduced in these Readers but also represent their general international outlook.

Religious and social matters are not discussed in this series. There is no cultivation of religious and racial tolerance and unity as there was in the earlier textbooks.

Much attention is given to the islands south and southeast of China, and little to the vast territory in the north and northwest. Five lessons speak of the Chinese revolutionary activities in Formosa and seven lessons of the Chinese in the "South Sea Islands." It is suggested that those places rightfully belong to China because of her priority in colonization. The imperialistic expansions of the British, the Dutch, and the Japanese are disfavored whereas the desire for the political

independence of the Chinese in the Southern Islands is expressed. While such an attitude may mean nothing to the Chinese than the defense of their own rights, others may take it as an expression of imperialism. It is perhaps the most aggressive attitude in regard to China's international outlook taken by the Readers we have examined.

The Three Principles of the People

The place of the Ethics and Civics Textbooks is taken by the textbooks of San-Min-Chu-I or the Three Principles of the People. If the chief emphasis of the Ethics textbooks is the individual and that of the Civics textbooks the society, then the chief emphasis of the San-Man-Chu-I textbooks is really the nation. They are based entirely upon the Three Principles of the People, the Plan for National Reconstruction, the Fundamentals of National Development, the Speeches of Sun Yat-Sen, and the Manifestoes and important resolutions of the Kuomintang (the Chinese Nationalist Party). Of the four books designed for the two years of the upper elementary school, Book I is on the Principle of Nationalism, Book II on the Principles of Democracy, Book III on the Principle of Livelihood, and Book IV on Sun Yat-Sen, the History of the Kuomintang and its national and foreign policies, the "Plan of National Reconstruction," and the "Fundamentals of National Development."

These textbooks are chiefly a summary of the writings of Sun Yat-Sen. A list of the titles of the lessons will show the general contents of these books.

BOOK I (Begins with Sun Yat-Sen's portrait and his will).

National Salvation and the Principles of National Salvation.
The Three Principles of the People.
The Principle of Nationalism.
The Standing of the Chinese Nation in the World To-day.
The Powers' Oppression through their Increase in Population.
The Political Oppression of the Powers.
The Economic Oppression of the Powers.
How to Get Rid of the Oppression of the Powers.
The Way to Revive Nationalism.
The Way to Recover Our National Position.
The Responsibility of the Chinese Nation toward the World.

BOOK II

Democracy (Sovereignty of the People).
The Origin of Democracy.
The Principle of Democracy.
The English Revolution.
The American Revolution.
The French Revolution.

Liberty, Equality, and the Sovereignty of the People.
Democracy as Achieved in the Countries of Europe and America—Indirect Democracy.
Democracy as Advocated by the Kuomintang—Direct Democracy. Causes for the Lack of Rapid Progress in Democratic Government in the Countries of Europe and America.
The Plan to Solve the Problem of Democratic Government as Proposed by the Kuomintang.
The Four Controlling Powers of the People.
The Five Administrative Powers of the Government.
The Principle of Democracy and its Relation to the Principles of Nationalism and Livelihood.

BOOK III

What is Livelihood?
The Problem of Livelihood.
The Principle of Livelihood.
The Equality of Land Ownership.
The Regulation of Capital.
The Creation of National Wealth.
The Needs of Livelihood.
The Needs of Livelihood—Food.
The Needs of Livelihood—Clothing.
The Needs of Livelihood—Shelter and Transportation.
The Relation between the Principle of Livelihood and the Principle of Democracy.
The Relation between the Principle of Livelihood and the Principle of Nationalism.

BOOK IV

A Sketch of the Life of Sun Yat-Sen.
The Plans for National Reconstruction.
The Fundamentals of National Development.
A Brief History of the Kuomintang.
Foreign Policy of the Kuomintang.
The National (internal) policies of the Kuomintang.
The Unequal Treaties.

It is not the intention of the present writer to analyze how much nationalism there is in the Principle of Nationalism or even in the Three Principles of the People as a Whole. In the first place, a thorough analysis of the Three Principles of the People even from one standpoint—that of nationalism—belongs to a separate study. In the second place, to point out as a matter of course their general nationalistic features would be to point out what is already obvious. For these reasons, the present writer will limit himself merely to a few statements of outstanding significance.

This whole set of textbooks is fundamentally national in its outlook. Personal virtues such as loyalty, filial piety, trust-

worthiness, and peacefulness are urged because of their national significance. The problem of livelihood is attacked from the national point of view; national planning is advocated for the solution of the problem. Even democracy is approached from the standpoint of corporate living rather than from the standpoint of individual freedom. National unity and planning in government and in large scale industries are also indications of this national outlook.

Much self-confidence is revealed in these books. For the first time, the Western institution of government is attacked for its weakness. Strangely enough, civil service examinations and censorship, both old institutions of government in China, are praised. Also, the assertion is made that the proposed political structure for China is a challenge to the traditional democratic form of government of the West, which is unplanned.

The position of these books toward national sovereignty is based on the principle of self-determination. What is sought after is national freedom and equality in the sense that only treaties contracted by the parties for the mutual benefit of both are respected. Economic sovereignty is recognized to be as important as political or territorial sovereignty.

In international outlook, the books are fundamentally anti-imperialistic, though having as their ultimate aim internationalism. They are not anti-foreign. China is warned against becoming imperialistic. Indeed, the suggestion is made that China is to lead the world in a protest against imperialism.

History

In the four books for the two years of higher primary school history, the last one, as in the preceding series, is devoted to world history. In respect to the emphasis upon historical movements versus dynasty records and upon cultural development versus military achievements, this series is also similar to the preceding one. However, there is a great difference in matters pertaining to the interests of nationalism.

While such terms as tariff control, extra-territoriality, foreign concessions, foreign oppression, etc., are more frequently used, others, such as imperialism, unequal treaties, oppressed nations, weak and minor nationalities, and the foreigner's right to educate are introduced into the history textbooks. Instead of calling the conflicts in Chinese history those of races, they are now designated as the oppression of weak races by the strong. Revolutions, such as those of Chu Hung-Wu who overthrew the Yuan Dynasty, and of Hung Hsiu-Chuan who led the Taiping Revolt, are called the revolutions of oppressed nationalities. The fact that the Chinese (Han) race dominates the other four races in China in number and in culture is openly asserted.

In respect to the discussions on religions and on Chinese culture, this series is not much different from the preceding one except that here some pride is taken in China's cultural past. For example, the Chinese inventions of printing, gunpowder, and the compass are said to be of extreme value to the world and a credit to China. The Chinese origin and the development of such political institutions as the systems of examination and censorship are also discussed.

China's Foreign Relations

Out of 54 lessons on Chinese history, or out of thirteen lessons on the history of the last hundred years, only five deal with China's foreign relations. Thus proportionately little space is given to foreign relations. However, there is a strong spirit of nationalism in those lessons. Those on the Opium War and on Wars with France and Japan are not much different from those in the past series, except that tariff control and extraterritoriality are mentioned as rights conceded and that Japan is accused of imitating Western Imperialism. In the lesson on the Boxer Movement, however, for the first time in the textbooks, the Boxers are praised for their bravery* instead of commented upon with contempt.‡

* "Three thousand (foreign) troops attempted to enter Peking from Tientsin but were stopped by the Boxers. The foreign troops shot them with machine guns, killing great numbers. While those in the front fell, those at the rear still marched on. They were fearless. This demonstrates very clearly the spirit of bravery of our nation."

‡ (Cf. Republican Series, History, IV 14, VI 14, and New System Series, History, II 14).

The lesson on the Twenty-One Demands and the May Thirtieth Incident touches on Japan's Twenty-One Demands, the settlement of the Washington Conference, the Shanghai Massacre of 1925, the Canton Massacre of the same year, the Wan-Hsien Tragedy, and the Chi-Nan Incident of May, 1928. Great Britain and Japan are targets for criticism. The lesson which summarizes the accounts of foreign oppression in the Tsing Dynasty presents not only the territorial and monetary losses of China but also the loss of national sovereignty, the various forms of which are elaborated for the first time in the history textbooks—for example, foreign concessions, the foreigners' right to educate, tariff control, salt revenue supervision, sailing in inland rivers, fishing in Chinese waters, postal privileges, foreign privileges in connection with loans, railway construction, and mining. The terms "political imperialism" and "economic imperialism" are also used.

The International Outlook

In Book IV, which is on foreign history, much attention is given to revolutions in various countries and to the history of

the founding of modern nations. The earlier part of the book is on the ancient history of western Asia, India, and the medieval history of Europe; the latter part is on the revolutions in England, America, France, on the unification of Germany and Italy, on the imperialistic expansion of the Powers, and on the Movements for "Self-determination" since the World War.

This series does not express faith in the League of Nations, nor does it look upon the peace settlement of the World War or the results of the Washington Conference so favorably. For example, this statement is made: "But all the actions of the League of Nations are determined by the Powers, while the weak nations have almost nothing to say." Also, the founding of new nations in Europe in the interests of the Imperialists and not according to the principle of "Self-determination" is criticized. Furthermore, it is pointed out, as proof of the failure of the Washington Conference, that, even after the conference, the Powers increased their armaments.

The Russian Revolution is quite impartially described. The adoption of the New Economic Policy is looked upon as evidence that Communism has failed. The success of the Nationalist Movement in Turkey is praised, and recent nationalist movements in Persia, Afghanistan, India, Annam, and Korea are pointed out as examples of the growing fervor of nationalism. Although the spirit of protest against imperialism is very strong there is no spirit of war or appeal to arms in these volumes.

Chinese Geography

Like the preceding series, the last of the four books on geography is on world geography. While the arrangement of this series is more like that of the New System Series than the Republican Series, its nationalistic spirit is more like that of the Republican Series.

The chief features in the fifty-four lessons on Chinese geography are the products, the natural resources, and the problem of transportation. China's foreign relations are pointed out whenever possible. As the editorial remarks state: "This text selects its material with greater emphasis on human geography than on physical geography. More details are given especially on the conditions of races and nationalities, production, transportation, and industries. In order to exemplify the principles of nationalism and livelihood, references are taken from the Industrial Project of the Plan for National Reconstruction, to point out the way to China's reconstruction. As to matters related to national humiliation, details are not spared in order to present clearly the true pictures of the intrusions of imperialism." The following observations will substantiate these statements in regard to their treatment of nationalism and imperialism.

While only three lessons in the geography textbooks of the preceding series carry a nationalistic or patriotic accent, eleven do so in this. Note the titles of the lessons: Canton—the Birth Place of Revolution, Amoy and Swatow—the Ports Where Emigrants Embark, Kun Ming—the Memorial Place of National Restoration, Wu Han—the Memorial Place of National Independence, The Ceded Territories, The Leased Territories, The Foreign Concessions, The Present Condition of the Chinese Nation, The Oppressed Nations of Asia, and Imperialism and the World.

These books are more conscious of nationality and of imperialism than are the geography textbooks of the preceding series. In the titles of five lessons the words "nation" or "nationality" occur, and frequent use of them is made in other lessons. Also, besides the two concluding lessons on the subject of imperialism, the imperialistic activities of the various Powers are pointed out from time to time. Of fifty-four lessons on Chinese geography, eighteen, or one-third, refer to China's foreign relations, and fourteen, or one-fourth, refer to military strategic points. These figures give an idea of the nationalistic state of mind as compared to that of the previous two series. However, their nationalistic implications should not be too greatly stressed.

While religion does not occupy any place of significance, as has been pointed out, race or nationality does. The attributes given to the various races and nationalities are interesting. For example, the Latins, the Teutons, and the Slavs are called the strongest races in the world. The Latin race is rich in, or endowed with the concepts of beauty, is lively in temperament, and is elaborate in its customs. The Teutons are straightforward, patient, and strong and are endowed with scientific minds. The Slavs are brave and persevering; the Dutch are diligent, persevering and very "cleanly." The Chinese, with the Hans as representative, are said to have these characteristics: diligence, thrift, endurance, love of truth, and love of peace. They are said to have strong conceptions of family and clan but are lacking in the spirit of nationalism. Asiatic races in general, and the Chinese in particular, are warned of the perils confronting the weak. "When we compare (our nation) with the strong nations (races), it seems that a sickly man is put in the midst of a group of strong men. Does not such a situation make one tremble?" "Though the population in Asia is enormous, the oppressed peoples constitute the majority. When we think of the saying in the West 'The survival of the fittest,' how should we take the thing to heart?" (IV 6).

There is no light-hearted internationalism in this set of geography textbooks. They go deeply into the real causes of imperialism in China as well as in the world in general. The

imperialistic interests of the Powers are pointed out as chiefly economic, and it is urged that protests be made in the interests of the oppressed nations. But the nature of the protest is not military; as there is no suggestion of resorting to arms. Indeed, the ultimate aim is one of international peace and the happiness of humanity.

A SUMMARY

The study of textbooks has been made under two parts: the first, a consideration of the general textbook situation in respect to the problems of national unity and control and national sovereignty, and the second, an analysis of 56 textbooks that have been the most popular in the higher elementary schools.

In the first part of the study, it was pointed out that textbooks have an influential place in school education in China. The censorship or approval of textbooks by the central government and the dominant influence of one or two publishing houses are factors that further the unification of national outlook and national ideals through the textbooks. The absence of a demand for textbooks of local material is an indication of the absence of the spirit of provincialism or localism which would be upsetting to the equilibrium of national solidarity.

Inasmuch as modern education is an innovation in China, foreign influence in textbooks is to be expected. The dominance of the foreign element in textbooks written in foreign languages or in their translations is of course inevitable. However, the foreigner's point of view in the interpretation of China's foreign relations, and the foreigner's conception of China's frontier as unconsciously taken over by the Chinese authors of textbooks is a cause for some alarm.

In the second part of the study, three series of textbooks were analyzed. One may question whether an analysis of the textbooks is not, after all, an analysis of the philosophy of their authors or their interpretation of the provisions of the curriculum. The question should be looked upon in two different ways. On one hand, the question as to whether the analysis is not an analysis of the authors' philosophy is immaterial, because we are interested primarily in the attitudes that are being implanted in the minds of the children by these textbooks. We do not set forth to prove or disprove whether or not the civic attitudes are the attitudes of the educational corps. But, on the other hand, the question is a significant one, because inasmuch as the attitudes which are being cultivated in these textbooks are the attitudes of the authors, one must be aware of the fact that the contents may represent chiefly the interests of the adult-authors, or, at best, the adult-authors' interests simplified for child consumption. The fact that out of seven

Western personages selected in the National Language Readers in the New Age Series the majority are writers may be a good illustration of the dominance of the authors' own interests in the selection of material for children.

The discoveries made in the preceding chapter on the curriculum seem to be in harmony with those made in this chapter. What was previously discovered in regard to the fervor for national power and prosperity, to the rush for Western civilization, to the subordination of native culture to Western culture, to the strong sentiment for national unity, to the conflicts of the varying ideals of nationalism, and to the absence of nationalism in certain phases remain largely true. Such an agreement is, of course, a legitimate relation.

Besides substantiating the points revealed in the discussion on the curriculum, other features are of additional interest to the subject of nationalism. An objective and non-sentimental presentation is characteristic of the textbooks. Perhaps the scholarly tradition of the Chinese forbids the propagandistic treatment; perhaps brevity also necessitates such a position. "Fatherland" is used only twice (New System Series, Chinese National Language Readers, IV 45, and Geography IV 19); "our country" is used without other qualifying patriotic adjectives. Such patriotic terms as "our beautiful country," "our beloved country," "our dear country," and "our sweet country," as found in the textbooks in other countries—France, for example*—do not appear in the textbooks which we have

* See C. J. H. Hayes, France, A Nation of Patriots, p. 52, and pp. 343-399, Appendix A, Digest of Typical Textbooks in French Schools for Instruction in History, Morals and Civics, Geography, and Reading. The Columbia University Press, New York, 1930.

examined. But whether such qualifying adjectives really excite the children in the countries that use them is another question.

The three series of textbooks reflect the different outlooks of the authors, and thus inculcate different sets of national ideals among the children. The Republican Series used from 1912 to 1923 and the New Age Series used from 1927 to the present are more nationalistic in their outlook than are the New System Series that existed in between. But the New System Series, used from 1924 to 1926, were written under the spirit of the 6-3-3 Plan, which is quite free from nationalistic sentiments. The civic virtues emphasized in the Republican Series, however, seem to be personal in outlook, those in the New System Series social, and those in the New Age Series national.

In regard to national sovereignty, attention has been directed from territorial sovereignty to other forms of sovereignty such as extra-territoriality, tariff, the foreigner's right to

educate the Chinese in China, sailing in inland waters, etc. The children evidently have a larger vocabulary with which to converse on subjects of national sovereignty today than the children in the decade of the Republican Series had. The interesting fact is that most of the rights mentioned were not lost recently but before 1901. It took decades for the authors to become aware of their importance. (Rightly so, because the question of the foreigners' rights in one's own country was not very clearly understood by the Chinese owing to the lack of previous experience, to the fact that China had long given up the hope to settle national questions with the Powers by argument about their justice). The Republican Series, inasmuch as it was only conscious of territorial sovereignty, stressed armaments and frontiers. The New Age Series is wide awake to the various forms of national sovereignty that are infringed upon, and is strong in the spirit of protest, but rarely suggests a resort to war.

As to national unity, all the books seem to succeed in inculcating a common national outlook. For example, the harmony of the five major races in China is repeatedly suggested in the Republican Series. In general, the problem of religion does not bother the Chinese very much; there is no strong sentiment for any of the religions in these books. As to the idea of national control, the tendency is more and more toward national control of the economic life of the nation.

The question of national culture is perhaps the most interesting one in the analysis of the textbooks. The contrast between the Chinese and Western culture, as presented in them, is generally favorable to the foreign and unfavorable to the native. No effort is spared to select material which illustrates the excellence of Western culture. With only one exception*

* The democratic form of government in the West is criticized for its lack of a thorough-going character. (See p. 122).

the textbooks do not depict the weaknesses of Western institutions. Foreign heroes and foreign stories are introduced quite liberally. Even to illustrate some of the personal virtues such as loyalty and honesty, a foreign hero is not infrequently chosen, possibly because of the author's interest in his new knowledge of Western history. Thus efforts are made to increase the child's understanding of the West and an appreciative attitude toward their culture.

The weaknesses in Chinese character that are attacked all point to the lack of public spirit or public morals. By the lack of public spirit or public morals is meant the absence of group spirit outside of the family group, and the disregard for public welfare. Going no farther back than the Republican Series, it is clear that for twenty years, in spite of the changes in the curriculum and the textbooks, the social weaknesses are still

the center of attack. While in the Republican and the New System Series, social-consciousness sometimes, and sometimes only, is widened to a national scope, in the New Age Series national-consciousness stands out as the chief form of social-consciousness.

While Western culture and modern inventions are being expounded, self-consciousness often leads to reflections on the accomplishments of the Chinese. It is interesting to note that there seems to be no other important inventions of scientific character in a four thousand-year-long history than the compass, printing, and gun-powder, which have become the shibboleth of Chinese culture.

Chinese educators have always said that while they introduce the best of Western culture, at the same time they preserve the best of Chinese culture. Whether the picture brought out in the textbooks has been anywhere near the golden mean intended, the facts presented in the analysis must have shown. If nationalism means the efforts to stimulate national-consciousness, to quicken national awakening, to achieve national progress, and to keep pace with the nations of the world, then the national challenges directed toward those ends in the textbooks may rightfully be called expressions of nationalism. Again we come to the point raised before: Does severe criticism of one's country inculcate nationalism as effectively as does extreme praise? While criticism may be denationalizing in effect, the sentiment back of it is clearly nationalistic. Therefore, here is another paradox: In regard to the textbook treatment of Chinese and Western cultures, the cause is nationalistic, but the effect is denationalizing. The implications of the contents or the intentions of the author may not be what is actually achieved as a result. Thus it is difficult to call any subject matter nationalistic or otherwise apart from its total setting.

As to the international outlook, in the Republican Series there seems to be a mixed feeling of hope and fear, hope in China's supposedly new membership in the family of nations, and fear of territorial dismemberment, left over from the "division of China" complex and engendered by the popular belief in Darwinism and the philosophy of Nietzche. The New System Series is optimistic in its international outlook, believing that world peace and international good-will have already been considerably advanced. The New Age Series is full of the spirit of complaint, discontent, and revolt, especially against imperialistic oppression. It believes that international peace can come only by overthrowing imperialism and by radically changing the status quo of the deprived nations. This implies a fundamental conflict of world dimension. Also, in this series for the first time there is enough self-confidence for criticism of the democratic form of government in the West.

CHAPTER V

NATIONALISM AND STUDENTS

In a study of the relation between school education and nationalism in China, there is a lively and vital phase which reveals the relationship very clearly and interestingly. This is a study of the effect of the spirit of nationalism on the movements, activities and interests of the students, and, in turn, their effect, in one way or another, on the development of nationalism. The subject of students belongs to the general theme of school education because the students are the beneficiaries of school education, or those whom school education directly affects.

The title of "Nationalism and Students" rather than that of "Nationalism and the Student Movement," is given to the present chapter because its scope is not the same as that covered by other writers in discussing the student movement or the youth movement. Indeed, writers on the Chinese student movement often limit themselves to accounts of the so-called May Fourth Student Movement of 1919 and its subsequent activities. Those on the Youth Movement widen their scope, including any element, regardless of age or occupational status, that contributes to the revolt of the generation in terms of modernity.

While a definition of "student" is difficult, the writer attempts to stay by the general undefined but accepted notion of the student in the present discussion. The student is, generally speaking, one who goes to school and has no other occupation. His age roughly ranges from six to twenty-four, and, if studying abroad, the upper range would be extended. Except in a section where the influence of the returned student or native graduates is touched upon, the ex-student will not be discussed in this study.

Under the caption of Nationalism and Students it is necessary to consider these outstanding phases: The migratory movements of the students, the organized activities of the student body, and the personal interests of the students. Their initiative in each of these movements should also be noticed.

In explaining the political significance of the students in China, Western observers often remind us of the traditional important place which the scholar holds there in government

and politics. Whether the historical tradition is a strong factor or not, modern students have always assumed a special sense of responsibility for the salvation and future of China, even to the extent of placing themselves in positions of foremost leadership.

STUDENT MIGRATION

The migration of Chinese students to foreign lands during the last sixty years is not only a significant phenomenon in the modern history of China, but also an important factor in the development of her history and in the course it has taken. Without the student exodus, nothing in China could be what it is—education, industry, politics, government, social life, religious life, culture, learning, her national and international outlook. However, while the returned students have certainly done a lot of good for the country, they have at the same time done a lot of harm. There have been weaknesses of commission and omission, deeds that should have been done better and evils which should have been avoided. But praise and blame are not implied here, nor are they intended, as the actions and the reactions of the returned students merely followed a reasonable course of development.

Many writers on the subject of the Chinese student migratory movements have often dwelled upon the influence of the "returned students" in the modernization of China. The more critical have tried to analyze their merits and demerits in terms of modernization and Chinafication, or in other words, in terms of Western civilization and the character of Chinese society, national prosperity, and national culture. Few have tried to look at the problem from the standpoint of nationalism and fewer have tried to analyze the beginning of the movements and the conditions of the students while abroad from that standpoint. It is, therefore, the purpose of this writer to treat those respective phases from the standpoint of nationalism, in the hope of giving a comprehensive picture of the movement.

What is the meaning of the term "movement" as used here? The migratory movement of students has often been referred to as a phase of the youth movement or student movement. So far as locomotion is concerned they may better be called movements of students or movements of youth. Whether one term is better than the other, we are concerned only with the relation of migratory students to the development of nationalism.

While the migrations of students under discussion are principally that of student migrations to foreign countries, there are other aspects of the migratory movement of Chinese students which have very direct bearings upon China's nationalism. In the first place, there is the student migration within the national boundaries. Students move from small villages and countries

to capital cities and from small centers to the large centers. The local governments as well as family and village organizations offer scholarships and grants to subsidize the education of their youth in larger centers. In Mongolia and Tibet, the central governments even combine scholarships with other special privileges so that the youth will be encouraged to educate themselves in the large institutions of the nation.*

* 'Regulations for the Favored Treatment of Students from Tibet and Mongolia." Promulgated by the Ministry of Education, July 22, 1929. Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Education, Vol. I, No. 8. (In Chinese.)

The register of any large institution in any center, notably in Shanghai and in Peiping, and now in Nanking also, will show how students from various parts of the country come together. It is obvious that the exchange of cultural habits, the consideration of regional and linguistic differences, the perception of national and local aspirations, and the establishment of personal, social and vocational links bring the people of the nation closer together by formulating a national mind and by promulgating a synthesized national pattern.

A comparison of the old system of assembling students—that of the civil service examination—with the new system, shows that the new system offers better opportunities for the furtherance of national unity. Under the old system students came together for a shorter time and had less opportunity for association. Furthermore, the spirit of keen competition in the civil service examinations did not aid friendly associations. However, we should note that regionalism still exists. For various reasons, chiefly that of dialect, often those from the same locality group themselves together socially, more or less.

In the second place, there is the migratory movement of overseas Chinese youth to their fatherland for a native education. Ever since the dawn of the Republic the term "education for the overseas Chinese" has been popularized. Because of the large number of Chinese abroad, estimated to be between eight and nine millions,* the excellent nationalistic

* H. F. McNair, The Chinese Abroad, p. 32. Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1925. (If the British colony of Hong Kong is taken into account which has 1,125,360 Chinese in 1929, according to the "Dominion Office and Colonial Office List" of the British Empire, London, 1931, the number of Chinese abroad would be approximately ten million).

sentiments they possess, the contributions they have made to the Chinese Revolution, and the possible share they can take in the economic development of China in the future, their training, obviously, should be of special importance. For those who return to China for an education, special schools have been established, and, in many schools, special classes have been

opened.‡ It is a common thing to find many such "returned"

‡ According to the "Arrangements for Overseas Chinese who Return to the Country to Study," there is this specification in Article 3—"All the schools within the country should accord special privileges to the overseas Chinese in their entrance to the school. But should the students be unfit in their academic training, physique or character, the school may communicate with the Overseas Education Commission of Ta Hsieh Yuan (Ministry of Education) for special arrangements." (Regulations of the National Government now in Enforcement, Complete, Vol. 4, Section on Overseas Education. Published by the World Book Co., Shanghai, 1928.—In Chinese.)

students now going through the colleges and universities in their native land. Whether they return to the foreign land after their education or not, the result favors Chinese nationalism, for the mother country and the overseas Chinese are brought closer together.

The education of the overseas Chinese has another phase—the promotion of more and better schools for them in foreign lands. In these schools, Chinese girls and boys learn their national language, national history, and national culture. Plans are made for the encouragement, registration, and supervision of these schools. Many Chinese schools in the Malay States and in America have already registered in the Central Government or are applying for it.

THE MAYOR MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS

History tells us that there was Chinese student migration to foreign lands for the acquisition of foreign culture as early as fifteen centuries ago.* However, the movement in the Fourth

* H. H. Gowan and J. W. Hall, An Outline of Chinese History, pp. 114-115. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1926.

Century, A.D., has no bearing whatsoever upon the modern student migrations in China and may be altogether dismissed from this discussion.

Before we discuss what bearings the student migratory movements have upon nationalism, we shall go over briefly the major movements; the migrations to the United States, to Europe, to Japan, and to Russia.

Migration to the United States

Yung Wing may be called the father of the modern Chinese student migratory movement. He himself was one of the first Chinese students to study abroad. He went to the United States in 1841 and returned to China in 1854, soon after his graduation from Yale College. Included in his educational program, which was accepted by the government in 1870, was the project of sending bright Chinese boys to study abroad for a period of fifteen years. In accordance with the project,

one hundred and twenty boys were sent in four groups of thirty each in the four years from 1872 to 1875. This marks the first Chinese student migratory movement to America, and, at the same time, the first group abroad in modern Chinese history.

However, the students did not stay in the United States for the allotted time. Partly because of the change in the foreign policies of the United States towards China as seen in their refusal to admit Chinese students to military and naval academies, which in the eyes of the Chinese government was a violation of treaty,* and in movements for the exclusion of Chinese

* According to the Burlingame Treaty signed between China and the United States in 1868 the Chinese would be admitted to all public schools of all levels. (See Yung Wing, My Life in China and America. Chapter 9. New York, 1909).

laborers, and partly because of the unfavorable attitude of the last director of the student mission toward the project,‡ the

‡ Wu Tsu-Feng was appointed to the post as Director of the Student Mission in 1876. He was unsympathetic and was hostile to the project of students' study abroad. (Ibid., Chapter 19).

students were recalled from the United States in 1881.

With the exception of about ten students of this group who remained in the States and the handful who came to study on private support and individual initiative, in a period of two decades to follow, from 1881 to 1900, the number of Chinese students studying in American colleges was very small. For example, it was estimated that there were only six Chinese students in the United States in 1898.§

§ Tsi C. Wang, The Youth Movement in China, p. 67. New Republic, Inc., New York, 1928.

After 1900, as a result of the consequences of the Boxer Insurrection, the migratory movement to the United States was revived. With the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905, the refund of the indemnity surplus by the United States government in 1908 which China decided to use for the purpose of sending students to America, and the favorable rate of exchange during and right after the War, the movement grew rapidly.

Migration to Europe

The first group of students,* thirty in number, were sent

* There were civil and military officers sent abroad previous to that time, such as a group of military officers sent to Germany in 1776. They may not be so properly classified as students.

to Europe in 1878, eighteen to France to study machine manufacturing and twelve to England to study the Navy. Then, beginning in 1892, Ministers to Great Britain, Russia, France,

Germany, and the United States each took two students abroad. In 1895 the number was increased to four for Russia, England, France and Germany. The students were so much occupied by the secretarial work in the legations that they had no time for study.‡

‡ Shu Hsin-Cheng, A Modern History of the Chinese Student Movement Abroad, Chapter III, "The Beginning of Chinese Students to Europe." Published by Chung Hwa Book Co., Shanghai, 1927. (In Chinese.)

After the Boxer Uprising, more students were sent to Europe. In 1903, eight were sent to England to study the Navy, sixteen to Germany to study the Army, ten to the United States, four to Russia and twenty-four to Belgium to study Railways and Mining.* Students were also later sent to Austria

* Ibid., Chapter V., "The Revival of the Student Migration to the West."

and to other countries in Europe. Besides those who were sent at government expense, others with private support went. According to Y. S. Tsao, there were about four hundred Chinese students in Europe in 1910, of whom half were private students.

Since the World War, the number of students in Europe, particularly in France, has increased. In the years 1919 and 1920, the number of Chinese students in France suddenly rose to over seventeen hundred.‡ However, since 1921, because of

‡ Ibid., Chapter VIII, "Diligence-Labor-Simplicity-Education and the Student Migration to France."

the unemployment in France, many Chinese students who had been making their own way through school by working in the factories were laid off and had to return to China. In 1925 there were only between four and five hundred students in France.§

§ Li Huang, "Problem of Student Migration in France," Chung Hwa Educational Review, Vol. XV, No. 9. (In Chinese.)

Migration to Japan

In 1896, right after the Sino-Japanese War, the first group of students were sent to Japan. During the following decade, the number steadily increased, from about a score to five hundred in 1903 and to two thousand in 1904. With the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War, the number rapidly increased to over thirteen thousand in 1906. However, since 1908 the number of students there has decreased a great deal; in 1924, it was estimated at only two thousand. The Japanese government had tried to encourage Chinese students for the purpose of cultivating a closer feeling toward Japan by creating three hundred scholarships for them with a portion of the

surplus of the Boxer Indemnity which they received from China.* However, the Chinese government forbade the

* Shu Hsin-Cheng, Modern History of the Chinese Student Movement Abroad, Chapter 9, "Japan's Cultural Work in China and Student Migration to Japan."

acceptance of this scholarship after the Tsinan incident of May, 1928.‡

‡ China would not accept this half-hearted gesture of goodwill as Japan used only a portion of the surplus of the Boxer indemnity of the whole surplus as America did. On July 19, 1930, the Ministry of Education issued an order forbidding the Chinese as individuals to accept these gratuitous scholarships. This stand is backed up by the Chinese citizenry. (See the Christian Education Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 3., September, 1930. Shanghai.—In Chinese.)

Migration to Russia

As the northern boundary of China is adjacent to Russia, there has always been a need for some students to study the Russian language, especially for diplomatic purposes. However, for some time there was little student migration to that country. As has been pointed out in connection with the discussion of student migration to Europe, four students were sent there in 1903 besides the two to four students who were attached to the legation after 1892. But the real movement began in 1925 when students were sent to Moscow from Canton.§ The

§ Jerome Davis, "How Russia Makes Chinese Reds." The Christian Century, January, 31, 1929, pp. 141-143.

University for the Laboring Masses of China in the name of Sun Yat-Sen was founded in Moscow with Communist and Russian support; its chief aim being to share with the youth of China the fundamental binding principles of Communism and the experience of the "proletarian revolution."* In November,

* Ibid.

1925, the university formally opened its doors to a student body of one hundred. This was increased to three hundred in February, 1926; by the beginning of January, 1928, the number had reached six hundred.

Besides that university, which was founded chiefly for the Chinese, there were other universities in Moscow which Chinese students also entered. For example, the "Communistic University of Laboring Masses in the East in the name of Stalin" was one in which Chinese students enrolled.

However, when diplomatic relations were broken off in connection with the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1929, the Sun Yat-Sen University came to an end. What effect these students to Russia will have upon Chinese

nationalism, upon China's anti-imperialistic program, upon China's traditional culture, and upon China's unity, remains to be seen in future years.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS

We have looked over briefly the major student migratory movements to America, Europe, Japan, and Russia. Before we proceed to an analysis of the life of the students while they are abroad and after they have returned, let us point out briefly some of the general characteristics of the movement which may also have some bearing upon nationalism, directly or indirectly.

In the first place, we notice that friendly relations with the nation is a condition before students migrate there. The migration was first directed toward the United States, partly because, according to the Burlingame treaty signed between the two governments in 1868, Chinese immigrants, laborers or students, to the United States were highly welcomed. Great Britain expressed its desire to have Chinese students sent to their country, but not until 1872.* The friendly gesture of the United States in returning the Boxer indemnity was the cause for the migration to America after 1909. Also, the huge student migration to France in 1919 and 1920 was due to the cordiality extended by the French to the Chinese laborers and students immediately after the War.‡ The migration to Russia in 1925-1927 was due to the alliance between the Nationalist Government in Canton and Soviet Russia. On the other hand, the breach of friendly relations with any country is a cause for the withdrawal of students from that country. The recall of Chinese students from America in 1881 was the first instance of this. Other examples were the sudden return of students from Japan before their training was complete in 1915, as a result of the Twenty-One Demands, and the dissolution of the student mission to Russia in 1927. The part the students play in reinforcing the friendly bond after their return will be discussed later.

* According to Section 7 of the revised treaty, student migration was very much favored. "Petition by Li Hung-Chang and Tseng Kuo-Fan Regarding the Sending of Bright Boys to America to Study and Regulations Governing the Same," Shu, Source Book, Vol. I, pp. 185-189. (In Chinese.)

‡ See Report by Shen I-Chia in Monthly Bulletin of Education of An-Hui Province, 1920, No. 24. (In Chinese.)

In the second place, student migratory movements are stimulated by national and international crises. The earliest movements abroad to America and Europe were due to crises in China. For example, the plan of the Educational Mission to America was sponsored by the four imperial delegates headed

by Tseng Kuo-Fan who negotiated with France regarding the Tientsin anti-religious riot in 1870. The second movement was spurred by the national crisis which was a result of the Boxers uprising. The international crises, such as the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905, and the conclusion of the World War in 1918, stimulated large numbers to study abroad in Japan and in the West, and were the high points of the third and fourth major movements.

In the third place, the question of expense has a great deal to do with determining the territory of the migration. Of the sixty-two students sent to the five countries in the West in 1903, twenty-four went to the little country, Belgium. One of the reasons was that the cost was less there. For the same reason it was proposed, in 1905, with imperial sanction, that ten to forty students be sent to Belgium from each province.*

* Shu, A Modern History of the Chinese Student Movement Abroad, pp. 36-39. (In Chinese.)

The large number of students to Japan is partly due to this economic reason, and the increase in number to the United States during the War was due to the favorable rate of exchange of silver. The movement of over a thousand students to France in 1919 and 1920 was due to the appeal of the possibilities for "Diligence-Labour-Simplicity Education" in the light of the after-war economic situation in France. Also, the movement to Germany immediately after the War was due to the depreciation of the mark. Again, the financial aid by missionaries, indemnity funds, the opportunities for self-support, and other forms of scholarships offered by institutions in foreign countries affect migrations in direction and in bulk. Thus, in a sense, migrations are under the jurisdiction of "economic determinism."

In the fourth place, what China as a nation needs and what countries can best help in those needs has a great deal to do with deciding the direction of the migrations also. With the exception of Japan, where the situation is complicated by such conditions as a less divergent language, a shorter distance, a similar Oriental setting, and less expense, it may be quite safely said that the students go wherever the knowledge they seek for may best be found. England has been specially known to China for her Navy, Germany for her Army, Belgium for Railways and Mining, Austria for her Postal system, France at first for her engineering, and later for her tradition of liberty, and Russia for her championship in Socialistic and party government. The United States in recent years has been considered excellent in all lines of training, while Japan is considered secondary in every way. In spite of the fact that it is much easier in almost every respect for a Chinese student

to get an education in Japan than in the United States, the latter has had a far greater attraction for the Chinese student than the former. Aside from the question of the social prestige, there is a genuine search for knowledge wherever it may best be found, so long as circumstances permit. The prediction may be made that, inasmuch as the Russian technique for gigantic reconstruction along social, economic and political lines is instructive to China, there will be a marked Chinese migration to Russia to learn their methods, though not necessarily their philosophy, should the Russian program be successful, and should friendly relations with Russia be restored.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE STUDENTS WHILE ABROAD

In the interests of nationalism, let us analyze briefly the life of the student while in residence abroad. The analysis is made under four points: National strength, national culture, national revolution, and national control.

As the Chinese student sails abroad, his heart is saturated with the ambition to equip himself for participation in building up his nation when he returns. It is for that he is sent, for that his parents approve of his departure; that is what his friends wish him, and with that idea he encourages his comrades. "The fate of China depends upon you," and "We are the hope of China's future" are remarks that they repeatedly hear and make, not without sincerity.*

* C. Tsi Wang. The Youth Movement in China, pp. 70-72. The New Republic, Inc., New York, 1928.

Consequently, the subjects which the students pursue are centered around those that are, or should be, essential to national strength and prosperity. For example, the earliest students abroad were sent to study for the improvement of armament. In a petition to the Emperor regarding students being sent abroad, in 1872, Tseng Kuo-Fan said:

> "It was proposed that bright boys be selected and sent to the schools in the West to study military science, ship-building, mathematics, manufacturing, etc., for about ten or more years until the completion of their studies, so that all techniques in which the Westerners are expert will be known to China. . . . For instance, mapping and charting, mathematics, astronomy, marine surveying, shipbuilding, machine-making, etc., are all inter-related with warfare—military science and shipbuilding are looked upon by the foreign countries as the heart and soul of their learning. Now in order that China may follow their example and master their technique, it seems urgent that . . . bright youth be sent abroad to study through practical experience with the hope that the desire of your Majesty, the Emperor,

to cultivate talent for the attainment of national power by self-determination be complied with."*

* Shu Hsin-Cheng, Source Book in the Modern History of Education in China, Vol. I, pp. 185-6. (In Chinese.)

The groups that were sent to Europe soon after, went to study the Navy, the Army, engineering and mining. Since 1905, there has been a new emphasis on the study of the laws and governments of the advanced countries as well as their systems of education. After that, the greatest emphasis is on science and technology and methods of commerce.

Some attribute China's weakness to her lack of Western technology, of Western Science, of good government, some to her economic and commercial retardedness, and some to the undevelopment of her educational system. Thus, instead of literature, art and philosophy, the favored subjects of Chinese scholars, most of the Chinese students abroad study subjects such as engineering, natural sciences, law, economics and education. In general, then, they educate themselves in the things that China needs most in the attainment of national prosperity.

In regard to the question of national culture, there are two different attitudes, one favoring the assimilation of Western culture, the other favoring the preservation of Chinese culture. Yung Wing, representing the former group, brings boys between the ages of twelve and fifteen to America for a period of fifteen years. These boys are divided into groups of two and three and room and board with American families.* Wu Chi-Hui,

* Yung Wing, Op. Cit., Chapter XVII.

in advocating the emigration of families abroad, so that the children could study in foreign countries, emphasized, aside from school education, the educational value of merely living in a Western society,‡ which has often been neglected by

‡ La Jeunesse, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 170. (In Chinese.)

educators. He even advocated that Chinese students who go abroad should not take any "thread-bound books" (old Chinese literature) with them. On the other hand, there are those who strongly emphasize a thorough grasp of Chinese culture before going abroad and a continued study of Chinese culture while there. It is in conjunction with this line of thinking that proposals were made that only adults above the age twenty-five be sent abroad after receiving a complete native education.§

§ Shu Hsin-Cheng, A Modern History of Chinese Student Movement Abroad, p. 206. (In Chinese.)

We must remember also that the one hundred and twenty boys who were sent to America were accompanied by instructors in

Chinese besides the supervision of the Commissioner of the Educational Mission, who himself was a Chinese scholar. A special regulation read thus: "While Western studies are being pursued abroad, Chinese studies shall also be pursued at the same time. Accordingly, the Classics of Filial Piety, the Philology, the Five Classics, the Imperial Laws, etc., shall be taught. On . . . such special days (days of observance in the Chinese calendar) the Commissioner and the Associate Commissioner shall summon all the boys and lecture to them on 'Sheng Yu Kuang Hsun' (the Sacred Edict of the Emperor Kang Hsi), teaching them the rightful conduct of loyalty to the Emperor and respect to their superiors so that they will not be under the encroachment of alien learning."* A lecture room

* Li Hung-Chang, "Petition to the Emperor Regarding Sending Young Boys Abroad and Matters to be Attended to." (In Shu, Source Book, Vol. I, pp. 189-191).

for teaching Chinese was provided in the new office building of the Mission at Hartford.‡ Even in 1905, thirty years after the

‡ Young Wing, Ibid., Chapter XVII.

first student mission abroad, Yang Cheng proposed that students should take the necessary Chinese books abroad and study them so that they would not have forgotten the Chinese language when they returned.§

§ "Petition to the Emporer that all Provinces be Asked to Send Students to Study in Belgium Because of the Relative Inexpensiveness in Studying there." (In Shu, Source Book, Vol. I. pp. 280-282.)

Whatever the policy may be, the process of cultural denationalization goes on more or less unmolested. Unless the student abroad continues to entertain, if he has entertained at all, an antagonistic attitude toward the culture of the foreign land, to which he has considered himself exiled, the degree and extent of assimilation of this new culture is only a matter of time. When the Chinese boys first went to America, they preserved their Chinese traits. As a writer remarks: "One hundred and twenty students were located in homes throughout the Connecticut Valley. . . . They wore their queues and were expected to maintain Chinese customs."*

* C. S. Walker, "The Army of Chinese Students Abroad." World's Work, Vol. XIII, p. 8472, January, 1907.

In spite of the precautions and supervision, the process of "Americanization" after a few years had already become "alarming."‡ The fear that these denationalized students

‡ "A few years later the newly arrived Commissioner from China noted with alarm the Americanization of the young men who were to be under his charge. They wanted to play baseball, they assumed the swagger and independent manner of college men; they made love to American

young ladies, in short they had adopted and assimilated too much of the American spirit and too much of American ways and manners to suit his conservative ideas." See Wu Ting-Fang, "Chinese Students in America," World's Chinese Student Journal, Vol. III., p. 10, July-August, 1908, Shanghai.

would be harmful to the nation if they stayed longer was one of the reasons for which they were recalled.§

§ Yung Wing, Op. Cit., Chapter XIX.

It is true that the Chinese students, through contacts with Westerners while studying abroad, have helped to make Chinese culture more understandable to the West. It is also true that, while the fascination of Western culture captures their attention, it calls their attention to a re-evaluation of their native culture. But aside from the contributions which their study and residence abroad bring to the cause of the national culture, and the newly acquired scientific method which they apply to Chinese culture, the tendency to become culturally denationalized is very great. One must bear in mind the psychological factor—the mental attitude of the student abroad. Even if the question of the relative superiority of the two cultures were settled, and the excellent traits of both cultures were in harmony, it would be quite impossible for the student, while learning at another's feet, to be always in a critical, analytical and discriminating state of mind, and to choose only the good qualities of the foreign culture which would not conflict with his own native culture.

Few can ignore the importance of the part the students abroad played in the national revolutions. As the activities of the returned students belong to the discussion "Students Returned" in the following section, we shall concern ourselves here chiefly with the participation of Chinese students in foreign lands in revolutionary activities. While the life of the student abroad and the returned student is more or less a continuity, the separate discussions, when put together, will present the total picture of the influence of the migratory student upon the national revolutions.

There is a peculiar atmosphere abroad most favorable to the growth of patriotism. No one can deny the fact that the overseas Chinese are the most patriotic element of the Chinese population as seen by their financial contributions and their sacrificial participations in the cause of the nation. It is not difficult to understand the reasons for such a state of affairs. They experience, on the one hand, bitter irritations* for being

* It is noticeable that the Chinese students to Japan and to America are more sensitive to irritations than students to other countries. The Japanese attempt to regulate the Chinese students in Japan has been greatly resented. In 1907, the Chinese students who protested against a set of regulations governing their study abroad went so far as to leave

Japan. They established the Chung-Kuo-Kung-Hsueh (The China Public Academy) at Woosung, Shanghai, an important institution even to-day. (See "An Account of the Student Indignation at Tokyo and My Opinion," Anonymous, in Shu, Source Book, I, pp. 232-262). In the United States, the immigration restrictions, from the Consulates in China to the detention quarters in America, are the chief sources of complaint. Many students, even after years of study and residence abroad, still resent the treatment they received in detention quarters. (See "Letter Written from San Francisco to Relatives and Friends in Shanghai," H. Y. Moh's Autobiography, Vol. II, p. 1., Commercial Press, August, 1926. Also, Tsen Ying, "When I was Studying in Japan," The Life Weekly, Shanghai, Vol. VI, No. 46, p. 1035, November 7, 1931.—In Chinese.)

citizens of a "backward nation" and, on the other hand, the most fervid aspirations for the power and prosperity of their nation because of what they have observed in foreign lands. Standing more or less aloof from their own country, they are in a better position to look at the life and problems of the nation as a whole. In addition, the student abroad comes in daily contact with Western thought as reflected in their government, politics, history, philosophy and law. With a greater freedom in speech, in organization, and in political activities than at home,‡ the students who sense their

‡ Some students went abroad because of their desire for greater freedom in the expression of their political views. In speaking of the Chinese students in Japan, Wang says: "They were dissatisfied with the Manchu government, and, not being able to express their feelings at home, they found a good chance in Japan." Tsi C. Wang, Op. Cit., pp. 64-65.

responsibilities are apt to align themselves with movements for national revolution.

We shall direct our attention chiefly to political aspects, although the part which the students abroad share in literary, intellectual, industrial, economic, social and religious revolutions is at times equally significant, if not more so. The political revolutionary inclination was detected by Commissioner Wu as early as 1876, during the first education mission abroad. It was partly because of the revolutionary aspirations of the students that the Manchu government recalled the students,* and for that

* Y. S. Tsao, "Relation of the Returned Student to the Chinese Revolution," Recent Developments in China, edited by G. H. Blackslee, G.S. Stechert & Co., New York, 1913.

reason, the students were not given any positions in the government after they returned.

But since the student migratory movement continued, the revolutionary activities of the students abroad also continued. For example, revolutionary societies were organized by the Chinese students in Japan.‡ Sun Yat-Sen, in reviewing the

‡ Feng Tsu-You, History of the Revolution Prior to the Founding of the Chinese Republic, Vol. I, Chapter 7, "Revolutionary Activities of the Chinese Students in Tokyo." Liang You Publishing Co., Shanghai, 1928. (In Chinese.)

Chinese revolutionary movement, said of the part played by the students while they were studying abroad:

> "In 1905 I went to Europe again. I found that the majority of the Chinese students there were in favor of the revolution. Therefore I summoned them together by my platform of the Three Principles of the People and the Five Constitutional Rights which I had long been holding. The Chinese Revolutionary Society, the "Tung Mung Huy," was established. When I arrived at Tokyo, Japan, the Chinese students there also pledged their allegiance. Except for Kansu province, which had sent no students abroad, all the other seventeen provinces were represented in the society by the students whom they had sent abroad."§

§ Sun Yat-Sen, "The Chinese Revolution," p. 2. The Past Fifty Years, Published by the Shun Pao Newspaper, Shanghai, 1923. (In Chinese.)

This patriotic expression is often seen on other occasions when situations calling for patriotism arise. For example, the Chinese students' protest against the regulations of the Japanese Ministry of Education in November, 1905, was a manifestation of their patriotic sentiments, both against Japan and against the Manchu government.* The return of the students from

* The Japanese regulations were formulated under the negotiations between the Manchu and Japanese governments for the suppression of political and revolutionary activities of the Chinese students in Japan. (Cf. The Regulations regarding the Discipline of Students Abroad. See Shu Hsin-Cheng, A Modern History of the Chinese Student Movement Abroad, pp. 154-159.—In Chinese.)

Japan in 1915 in protest against the Twenty-One Demands is another manifestation of this spirit. On other patriotic occasions, also, such as the protest against the settlement of the Shantung question at Versailles, there was universal unrest among the students abroad. Some students even went so far as to commit suicide so that their fellow-students would be inspired to greater patriotism.

Let us examine how the idea of National control has been applied to the students' study abroad. We observe in exercising control of the students various methods have been employed. Sometimes special commissioners are appointed by the Central government, by the provinces or by the special institution concerned.‡ Sometimes the supervision is placed in the hands

‡ For example, the Tsing Hua indemnity students and the students sent by the Ministry of Railways to America are under the supervision of separate directors appointed by the Tsing Hua College and the Director of Railways, respectively.

of the envoy to that country. Sometimes there is no special supervision.

Generally speaking, only the political, financial, scholastic and cultural aspects of the students' life abroad are under governmental control. For example, practically all of the ten regulations for the discipline of students abroad drawn up by Chang Chi-Tung in 1903 by the Empress Dowager's order, were against political and revolutionary activities among them.* In

* Shu, A Modern History of the Chinese Student Movement Abroad, Chapter XII, "The Regulating of Students Abroad," pp. 154-156. (In Chinese.)

the Republic the regulations have been less strict, and the financial side has been the chief problem under consideration.

In an examination of governmental regulations for students abroad, we find that there was very little control of the subjects studied by the students. The only regulations in this matter were that privately supported students were not allowed to study military science, that the number of students studying political science, law, and military science should be regulated,‡

‡ Ibid., p. 158.

and that scholarships were not to be granted to those who studied other subjects than medicine, engineering, agriculture, and natural science, such as law, art, commerce, etc.§ During

§ "Regulations for the office of the Supervisor in Charge of Chinese Students in Europe," 1910. (See Shu, A Modern History of Chinese Students Movement Abroad, pp. 166-168).

the Manchu Government an institution was set up for the examination of returned students to select candidates for governmental offices. But, since the Republic, with one exception† that practice has not been followed.

† In 1915, during Yuan Shih Kai's regime, an examination was given for that purpose.

The regulations concerning students abroad which have been made in recent years do not direct the training that the students are to receive. This lack of direction leads to inefficient use of money, energy and training, as often the number of trained students needed by China does not coincide with the actual number trained. Besides, when there is no definite job waiting for the student, he is apt to study many subjects, and specialize in none. While this is a liberal attitude so far as the individual personality of the student is concerned, its value as a national policy at this stage of China's development is doubtful.

Another aspect of the control of the students abroad is in the interests of national culture and aspirations. The continued interest of the first group of students to America in their national culture was safeguarded by instruction in Chinese classics and literature while abroad. However, this idea was not followed later, except in the case of the first group sent to Europe. Those students were asked to bring Chinese books with which to keep up their Chinese. Regulations were also made against the students becoming naturalized citizens of other countries* or marrying foreign women. One of the reasons for

* Li Hung-Chang, "Petition to the Emperor Regarding the Sending of Young Boys Abroad and Matters to be Attended to." (In Shu, Source Book, Vol. I. p. 190).

the prohibition of foreign marriage is that such marriages tend to keep the students in the foreign land and to dissipate their desire for service to their native land. However, this regulation, although promulgated three times, has not been enforced, either with regard to private or to government students.‡

‡ Shu, A Modern History of Chinese Student Movement Abroad, pp. 177-178. (In Chinese).

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RETURNED STUDENTS

Whether the influence of the returned Chinese students is so undesirable as some Chinese writers assert, or so favorable to China's development as the enthusiasts claim, the fact remains that the returned students occupy a very important place in the life of China. The returned students have been charged with becoming a privileged leisure class and have been accused of possessing degrees and diplomas rather than real knowledge,*

* Hu Shih, "The Chinese Renaissance," p. 16, Bulletins on Chinese Education, 1923. Issued by the China Association for the Advancement of Education.

and of entering professions other than those for which they were trained abroad. On the other hand, the same critics have also recognized their contributions to Chinese culture, to literature and to philosophy.‡

‡ Shu, A Modern History of Chinese Student Movement Abroad, pp. 216-220. (In Chinese).

As this discussion deals with the bearing of the student migratory movement on nationalism, its scope is limited to the relations of the returned student to nationalism. We shall consider the problem from three aspects: National prosperity, national culture and international affiliation.

In going over the *Who's Who* of China§ or the Who's Who

§ The following table shows the number of leaders trained in foreign countries. It is a study of the "Who's Who in China" by H. D. Lamson, published in the China Critic, Vol. III, No. 47, p. 117, Nov. 20, 1930.

Countries in which leaders studied	*Number*	*Per Cent.*
China	195	34.4
United States	153	27.0
Japan	91	16.1
England	27	4.8
France	8	1.5
Germany	3	0.5
Belgium	2	0.4
Russia	1	0.2
Singapore	1	0.2
Switzerland	1	0.2
U.S.A. and England	8	1.5
U.S.A. and Japan	6	1.0
Germany and Japan	6	1.0
More than three countries	18	3.1
China apprenticeship	4	0.7
Not stated	42	7.4
Total	566	100

325, or 57.4 per cent., received their education in one or more foreign countries. 195, or 34.4 per cent, received all of their education in China.

of the Returned Students,* it is clear the Chinese leaders in gov-

* See Preface by W. T. Tsu to the volume of Who's Who of American Returned Students, Published by Tsing Hua College, Peking, 1917.

ernment, in business, in industry, in scholarship, and in education are mainly returned students. In the diplomatic corps, in the faculties of universities and colleges, and in the military forces, the returned students occupy practically the entire stage.‡ In

‡ Shu, A Modern History of Chinese Student Movement Abroad, p. 212. (In Chinese).

so far as the international standing of China has been advanced through diplomatic efforts, in so far as higher education has furthered China's development, and in so far as the military force has been an expression of China's desire to strengthen the national defence and to unify the nation, credit should be given to the returned students. On the other hand, in so far as the diplomats have been traitors* to their country, in so far as

* Tso Yu-Lin, Luk Chung-Yu, and Chang Chung-Tsiang, all returned students, are known to have been traitors in connection with the Twenty-One Demands in 1915.

higher education has failed to produce the kind of leadership China needs, and in so far as the military leaders are responsible for the civil wars of the last fifteen years, the returned students, especially those from Japan, should have a large share in the blame.

However ill-trained in Western technology and learning students abroad may be, however inadequate their knowledge of their native culture may be, however dissatisfied with them some of the more conservative Chinese may be, the fact remains that their intimate contacts with Western civilization make them very influential in society. It is increasingly true that there is hardly a significant institution in China—a large factory, a large press, an important magazine, a great financial system, a large business concern, a great university, a system of communication, or an important movement of social reform, of thought, or of revolution which has not been influenced by the returned students.‡ This might be called the share of the

‡ J. P. Baker. Explaining China, Chapter IX "The Returned Student," pp. 253-259. D. Van Nostrand Co., New York, 1927.

returned students in the modernization of China; but it also means their share in the realization of national prosperity. In spite of the short-comings of returned students as well as because of them, the temper of the Chinese people for national power and prosperity in this transitional period is plain.

Returned students have often been criticized from the standpoint of national culture. Their inadequate knowledge and lack of appreciation of Chinese culture, Chinese life and habits, their acquisition of foreign standards, habits and attitudes of personal, social and physical living, their unwillingness to mix in with Chinese communities, and their tendency to transport and transplant Western institutions to China without sufficient consideration of the differences in the social situation—are all attacked. It is not uncommon to hear the returned student called the "native foreigner." All of these criticisms, though true, are largely inevitable, or else are highly advantageous to China. When youths are sent abroad before they are useful, when there is the handicap of bilingual education, when China is in desperate need of Western learning, and when Chinese learning is in a period of decadence, it is quite inevitable that those who acquire, or who look forward to an education abroad regard Chinese culture as secondary. When Chinese society needs fundamental changes in the light of modern science, industry, and democracy, when the conservative elements are so reactionary, and when the spirit of radical revolutionists is to be preferred to that of prudent evolutionists, the uncompromising spirit of the returned student in favor of Western culture may be very advantageous.

Whether it is evitable or inevitable, beneficial or harmful, it is plain that the direct and indirect influence of returned students has been unfavorable to Chinese culture as far as preserving and exemplifying the old is concerned. Through their perception of human rights as seen in the governments of foreign countries, they have tried to offset class distinctions

in the national political structure. Because of their knowledge of the privileges and possibilities of individual liberty, they have tried to eliminate the bondages made by the male sex, by elders, and by traditional authority. Through their knowledge of the possibilities of liberation of thought in the West, they have tried to introduce the spirit of inquiry into all existing institutions, including the written language. Through their knowledge of hygiene, of medicine, of science, of better modes of living, through their knowledge of the application of science, of the technique of industry, of transportation and of mass production, they have speeded up the transformation of Chinese life in all its phases.

Of course, in the process of modernization or of cultural dissolution and disintegration, the returned students do not play the only or even the major role. There are other factors, human and non-human—the foreigners in China, the missionaries, the foreign concessions, the Western books and their translations, the overseas Chinese of non-student status, the foreign goods, the movies, and other influences. However, the very assurance of returned students, engendered by their intimate contacts with Western life and culture, is an important factor in the process of Westernization and cultural dissolution. Their belief in the rightness of their attitude is much greater than that of one who has had only vicarious experience of the West. Such assurance is peculiar to them, for even the missionaries hesitate to promulgate the scientific aspects of their civilization. To the sympathizers, such a sense of assurance is the result of conviction; to the antagonists, it is the result of over-admiration of foreign culture. Whatever the appraisal, it is certainly the result of Westernization, alienation or foreignization.

There is one aspect of the influence of the returned students which causes some alarm—the aspect of international affiliation. Whereas the international outlook is decidedly an enviable acquisition of the returned students, for no national problem can be intelligently solved by shutting one's eyes to the actual international situation, there is danger in the fact that they try to reproduce the institutions of the countries in which they studied, even though such institutions may not be good for China. Furthermore, each has a feeling of attachment* to the

* In a study of the attitude toward the United States, of the Chinese returned student from America, notice this statement, "The general opinion is that stated in one questionnaire: 'With hardly any exception the attitude of returned students toward the United States is most favorable; there is a general feeling of attachment,'" W. R. Wheeler, Facts Brought out by the Survey as to the Influence of Returned Students in the Homelands—China," The Foreign Students in America, p. 97. Association Press, New York, 1925.

country in which he studied. Those who went to America are pro-America, those to France, pro-France, those to Russia,

pro-Russia, and so on. They group themselves into an American group, an European group, and a Japanese group, etc.§ Thus,

‡ Shu, Modern History of Chinese Student Movement Abroad, pp. 218-219. (In Chinese).

their particular international affiliations and their self-seclusion cannot be looked upon with favor by the Chinese.

THE ORGANISED ACTIVITIES OF THE STUDENTS

While absolute student initiative in social movements hardly exists, it is correct to say that, relatively speaking, there is more initiative in the political movement of the students than in the migratory movement of students. In the "movements of students" they chiefly respond to certain educational policies and programs, while in the "student movements" they direct certain social and political movements. The student movement of May 4, 1919, has often been spoken of as "the student movement," especially in its narrow sense, and has been associated with, if not identified with, the leavening of nationalism in China. A discussion of the student movement of 1919 in a study of Nationalism in School Education in China, is, therefore, necessary.

However, the 1919 student movement is only a high point in the current of student movement in China and not the first or the last. While our discussion of the political movements of students in the modern period need only mention the Tung Lin and the Fu Sheh Movements in the early Seventeenth Century, it must at least go back to the Revolution of 1911.

STUDENT MOVEMENT LEADING TO THE 1911 REVOLUTION

Prior to 1911 the nationalistic sentiment of the Chinese students was chiefly centered on national sovereignty. Dissatisfied with the conditions of the country, they were determined to overthrow the Manchus and to re-establish government of the Chinese and by the Chinese. Life under Manchu sovereignty was all wrong to them, and life under Chinese sovereignty, they thought, would be all right.

The cause for such a movement among the students is due to the nationalist implements in school education. In the first place, knowledge of the world in philosophy, in science, in government and in history, both as presented in new translated books and in the new curriculum had led the student to critical thinking about China. Instead of hating the Westerners for their aggression, they rather hated the Manchus for failing to effect prosperity and order in the nation. The knowledge of the history of revolution in foreign countries, of the

growing conception of the political and social rights of men, certainly did a great deal in inspiring the youth to revolutionary aspirations and affiliations. In the second place, as a consequence of the pursuit of new learning, the students were turning their faces from old authorities to the new leaders. Besides seeking for new cultural leadership, they also sought for new political leadership. The stress on the old formula of government—that of the cardinal virtue of lovalty between subject and sovereign—would not help. Even the innovation of constitutional monarchy could offer little assistance. So the students turned to the new political leadership assumed by their teachers,* the newspapers, and the political outlaws, who

* See the following Chapter on Nationalism and the Teachers.

cherished the ideals of a clean-cut revolution for the restoration of Chinese sovereignty. Inasmuch as the traditional leadership was always lagging behind the new leadership in their knowledge of the new learning, the prestige of the Mandarin was quickly turned over to the revolutionalists.

Under such circumstances it is to be expected that the new schools would easily become the nurseries of revolution and the learners there sympathizers to the revolution. As an old scholar writes, "These youngsters had their eyes opened by the magic touch of the modern schools. They took part in various reform movements; they were opposed to footbinding, to foreign drugs (opium) and even wanted to get rid of the Manchu Government."* The fertility of this agency did

* Quotation from Tsi C. Wang, Youth Movement in China, p. 91. New Republic, Inc., New York, 1928.

not escape Sun Yat-Sen's attention. He said in later years: "After the defeat of the Franco-Chinese War in 1885, I made up my mind to overthrow the Tsing Dynasty and to establish the Republic. Thus I used the modern schools as the place for agitation."‡

‡ Pan Chia-Pien, An Account of the Major Events of the Last Sixty Years in China Since the Birth of Sun Yat-Sen, p. 38. Pacific Book Co., Shanghai, 1928. (In Chinese).

In order to see the workings of nationalism among the students of the period which led to the events of 1911, we shall deal briefly with the share students played in the revolutionary movement and the educational ordinances regarding the regulation of students.

In recalling the history of the Revolution or in turning over the pages of its record, one cannot miss the constant references to the students. Of course, the revolutionary activities of the students during the Tsing Dynasty had to be carried on under cover. For that reason it is not possible to find the

students organized in a revolutionary body in any expressed manner. We must put together separate instances to present the general picture.

In going over the records of the participators in the major uprisings of the revolutionary movement as well as in the major assassinations, one is struck by their chivalry as well as their youth and their intellectual standing. Among the assassins were Shih Chien-Ju and Wang Ching-Wei, who were students of twenty. Among the "Seventy-Two Heroes" of the uprising of March Twenty-Ninth (1911),* the most memorable

* On March Twenty-Ninth (old Chinese calendar) in 1911 (April 28, in the Western calendar) a group of revolutionists under the command of Huang Hsing attempted to capture Canton by rioting. He led many of his comrades in forcing entry into the Viceroy's Yamen. As a result of his failure, seventy-two of his party were killed or executed. In spite of the failure, this incident increased the morale of the revolutionists and really led to the final success in October of the same year.

incident in the history of the Chinese Revolution, though in itself a failure, were many students. In going over the official list,‡ one finds that of the 35 whose ages are known, 21 or 60

‡ See "Table of the Heroes Who Died for the Cause," A History of the Revolutionary Event of March Twenty-Ninth in Canton, pp. 101-108. Min Chi Book Co., Shanghai, 1926. (In Chinese).

per cent. of them were in their twenties and two of them were even younger. Of the 37 whose occupations are known and recorded, twelve, 32 per cent., or almost one-third, were students, many of them returned students from Japan. Also, in the biographies of many of those who were not recorded as students are statements to the effect that they had received their revolutionary aspirations during their school days.§ As

§ Biographies of the Heroes, Op. Cit., pp. 127.-86.

the March Twenty-Ninth incident was representative of the student enthusiasm in the nationalist revolution, it shows the spirit of nationalism among them in the years preceding the Republican era.

Besides those who took an active part in the revolution, there were many more who were sympathizers and supporters to the revolution. Many student publications spoke enthusiastically for the revolution,* supporting it by their concealment

* Pei Hua, History of the Chinese Revolution, p. 27. Kuang Ming Book Co., Shanghai, 1927. (In Chinese).

of secrets and their publicity for the revolutionists in their community. Their contribution to the latter received special recognition.‡ Perhaps the students' responsiveness to the

‡ The students' contribution in publicity or propaganda may be seen in Sun Yat-Sen's own statement. In giving a summary account of the

success of the revolution, he wrote in 1923: "Summarizing these events, the Revolutionists set their faces forward, forgetting themselves and dying for their country. Those who gave generously were mostly the overseas Chinese; those who zealously promulgated the cause were mostly teachers and students. The work of fighting on the front and piercing the enemy rested on the army and the secret societies. With determination and vigor everyone did according to his ability. The success, therefore, was not an accident." (Sun Yat-Sen, "The Chinese Revolution," p. 3. The Past Fifty Years), Shun Pao, Shanghai, 1923. (In Chinese).

October revolution of 1911 is the best illustration of their ever-ready support. In some places, they even celebrated the Independence of their Provinces (from the Manchu Government) before the matter was confirmed. Then, as the southern provinces fell into the hands of the revolutionists, the suppressed enthusiasm of the masses of students was released. Students everywhere at once organized themselves into the Northern Expedition Student Army which aimed to overthrow the Manchu Government throughout the whole country and to establish the republic.* Some joined the Red Cross. Some raised funds

* "The youth of the nation have sacrificed their blood to found the brave and beautiful Republic of China. . . . In this let us be thankful and rejoice! But . . . the Manchu Government still functions in the North. . . . For this reason. we have gathered together a group of young men from different educated centers. We have formed an army and we have sworn to carry out our Northern Expedition. Our aim is to clean up the Manchus that this glorious continent may have peace. All patriotic youths must join us." Manifesto of the Students Northern Expedition, quoted in Tsi C. Wang, The Youth Movement, pp. 94-95. New Republic, Inc., New York, 1928.

by going from door to door and getting subscriptions for the Northern Expedition. As the unification of China was realized a few months later, in February, 1912, the dream of the students seemed to have been realized. A period of optimism and quiet followed. In August, 1913, the Ministry of Education prohibited the students from joining political parties.‡ Except for

‡ New Educational Laws of the Chinese Republic, Vol. VI, p. 65.

strikes of local nature in individual schools, there was no great student movement until the famous outbreak of May Fourth, 1919.

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT OF 1919

The student movement inaugurated on May 4th, 1919, is called by the Chinese the May Fourth Movement. It is often spoken of as "The Student Movement" and is considered in the West as the date of the outburst of nationalism in China. The present writer does not intend to make a new study of the Student Movement in itself. To do so one would have to go back to the earlier developments of the Youth Movement and to the renaissance movement, for the May Fourth movement

is, after all, but a point in the process of a social movement. One would also have to analyze the movement with regard to its bearings on the spirit of individual, social, and political freedom, and on the spirit of science and inquiry, besides bearings on the spirit of nationalism. Therefore the present writer limits himself to an analysis of the relation between nationalism and students as seen by this event.

A brief account of the event may suffice. Since the latter part of April (1919), the nation had been rather uneasy over the news about how the Shantung Issue would be settled by the Peace Conference. The students in Peking University decided to have a meeting of students in the capital to express their opinions. On May 4th, five thousand students in Peking paraded with flags in their hands, demonstrating their determination to retain Tsingtao and to punish the "traitors."* In their patriotism and excitement, Tsao Ju-Lin was

* The three "traitors" were Tsao Ju-Lin, then Minister of Communications, Lu Chang-Yu, then Minister of Finance, and Chang Chung-Tsiang, then Minister to Tokyo, all considered pro-Japan ministers.

beaten and his house burned. Over thirty students were arrested and the news spread that they would be executed. This news aroused public opinion throughout the whole country. Besides the students in Peking, those in all parts of the country protested most strongly. They also paraded for the same cause as had their fellow-students in Peking. Student organizations were founded. They sent telegrams, published manifestoes, made speeches in public places to call the attention of the masses of people to the grave national situation of Japan's aggression and to the corruption of government officials, and boycotted Japanese goods. Many of the student lecturers were arrested as a result of the suppressive measure adopted by the government. Since the whole nation, including the merchants, laborers and the press were for the students, the Peking Government had to release the students on June 6th, to apologize, to dismiss the three "traitors" from office and to refuse to sign the Versailles treaty. So ended the main episode of this famous student movement. It was a success and a significant one. John Dewey, writing on July 4th that year, in China, commented on the success of that event:

> "You can't imagine what it means here for China not to have signed (the treaty). The entire government has been for it—the President up to ten days before the signing said that it was necessary. It was a victory for public opinion, and all set going by these little schoolboys and girls."*

* John Dewey and Alice C. Dewey, Letters from China and Japan, p. 226. E. P. Dutton Co., N.Y., 1920.

The immediate cause of this movement was, of course, the Shantung Issue, but the mediate causes were several. The tangible results were the dismissals of the "traitors" and the refusal to sign the Versailles Treaty, but the intangible results were the spiritual gain and social prestige of the student movement and the accomplishment of greater national spirit among the people. We shall discuss these mediate causes and intangible results in a little more detail and see what bearing this event has upon the development of nationalism.

The Renaissance movement, through its organs "La-Jeunesse," "The Weekly Review" and "The Renaissance"* laid

* La Jeunesse (or the New Youth) was published in 1915 under the editorship of Chen Tu-Shin, who later became the Dean of the College of Letters at the National University of Peking. The Weekly Review was under the same editorship. The Renaissance was a student publication of the Peking National University.

the foundation for this student upheaval in three ways. In the first place, it showed the students social questions from a new light and with newer techniques of attack. In the second place, it created for the Chinese students throughout the whole country an intellectual center in Peking University to which they could turn for leadership. In the third place, it suggested to the students at the National University in Peking a sense of the responsibility of leadership as well as won for them self-confidence because of their success in the intellectual awakening of the nation.

The position of the students was also another cause of the movement. In the first place, those who were supposed to have done something about the situation did nothing.* Those who

* Shu, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China, Vol. III, p. 146. (In Chinese).

were supposed to be responsible were incompetent. These who realized the graveness of the situation—the teachers, merchants and intellectual leaders—were either unorganized or lacking in the spirit of the struggle. The students, with their knowledge of the graveness of the situation and their patriotic spirit untinged by personal considerations were forced to step forward and assume the leadership. In the second place, the greatest number of students were in Peking, the seat of the Government of that period. Inasmuch as the occasion demanded quick action, it was natural for the students right in the seat of government to take the chief role. Thus the center of the patriotic movement was shifted from the south to the north, from Canton to Peking.

The intangible results of this event were far-reaching. In the first place, the cause united the people of the nation together. The problem of Shantung was not taken as the problem of Shan-

tung alone; it was the problem of the nation. Western methods of publicity were employed on a large scale for the first time, both to arouse and to express public sentiment on a national issue. While there was no political unity of government, the spiritual unity of the people deepened their feeling that they genuinely belonged together, in spite of the difference in temporary political jurisdiction. The bond of common feeling in national and social problems, was strengthened. Besides the spiritual bond, unions of all organizations on a city and a national scale were instituted; these continued to be a controlling force of public opinion in China.

In the second place, the students' sense of responsibility for political and social welfare and their prestige in certain respects as to what they could do were increased. With this experience in leadership, the students somehow assumed that they were the surest bulwark of the nation and its frontier patriots. At the same time, they won for themselves recognition in society as an important social force and tested the strength of their group as compared with other groups. With this feeling and standing, the self-assertion of the students in many of the student movements to follow is largely explained.

In the third place, the movement blended education and politics, and the school and its social environment. It broadened the students' outlook from book knowledge to daily life, and enlarged their interests to national problems. It threw open before them a real society in which they could participate in full capacity as contrasted with a semi-realistic society, more or less artificial, within the school walls. They jumped from the confines of the student organization within the school into the midst of political, social and economic activities of national dimension. Thus, in a sense, the long established barrier between school and society was broken. The student was no longer interested in cultivating self, but in bringing about a better social order in China.

However, there is an unhappy side to this picture that must be presented. During a period of social awakening in a society which has just acquired the tool with which to express public opinion and where no dominating group has a well thought out program and control, the possibility of social upheavals on impulse at any time may be dangerous to social order and stability. The student movement, while giving much optimism to the Chinese people, has also initiated considerable unrest. The students' self-confidence and assertion, also, has led to many unfortunate consequences. They have less respect for their teachers, for learning and for book knowledge.*

* "They (the student leaders) said: 'Don't the other teachers read more books than we? But we don't see that they can save the nation. According to what our teachers say, the responsibility of national

salvation should be rested on them since they have studied enough. If they are willing to take it upon their shoulders, why should we sacrifice our studies? But at times of national crisis, they failed to have the courage to step forward, thus making it necessary for us students to protest again and again. When they have been asked to do something, they have often tried to avoid it. They have stepped aside to watch. And when the event was over, they said that we had neglected our studies and wasted our time. If they really care that our precious time for learning should not be wasted, why don't they, at time of such crises, stand up and say, "Let us give ourselves for the cause and let you (students) study"?' " Li Huang, "Educators and the Student Patriotic Movement," Chung Hwa Educational Review, Vol. XV, No. 6, p. 2. (In Chinese).

While too much respect for any of them is undesirable, too little of it is equally so. The academic atmosphere entirely disappears. The acquisition of knowledge becomes a secondary function of the school. Thus the criticism that the students do not study, the teachers do not teach, and the schools are not for learning, has some basis in truth.

The blending of education and politics also has another unfortunate side. The school is looked upon chiefly as a political organ to be seized in times of agitation and to be controlled by any group of opportunists who want to assert their influence in the community. Thus from the standpoint of the conservation of human resources and the training of scholars and technicians for the nation's future, the results of the movement were not so favorable. As Professor Monroe pointed out, "aside from the political training, he (the student) is getting very little education out of his schooling.*

* Paul Monroe, China: A Nation in Evolution, p. 293. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928.

STUDENT MOVEMENTS SINCE 1919

The student movements since 1919 have been more complicated than that before 1911, which was chiefly anti-Manchu, or that of 1919 which was mainly a protest against Japanese imperialism. The latest student movements were complicated by the strategical measures which the Chinese nationalist and communist parties employed in their plans for the seizure of political power. We shall present briefly the nationalistic aspects of the student movements since 1919.

The Anti-Religious Movement

The anti-religious movement of 1922 has some bearing on nationalism. In April 1922, the Conference of World Christian Student Federation was held at the Tsing Hua College, Peking. When the news of this convention reached a group of students in Shanghai through a special number of the Association Progress Magazine of the Chinese Y.M.C.A., they organized them-

selves into a non-Christian student federation. When the news of the movement reached Peking, the students there enlarged its purpose to that of an anti-religion movement, which subsequently led to the organization of "The Great Federation of Non-Religionists." Although this was a movement to attack all religions in general, Christianity was the center of attack. Whereas Christianity as a religion shared the general criticisms of religion on the grounds of science and freedom of thought, it was further attacked as an instrument of capitalism and imperialism for the exploitation of weaker countries. Tsai Yuan-Pei, then President of the Peking National University, asked why the Chinese students were willing to pledge themselves in the World Christian Student Federation and why the Tsing Hua College was willing to lend its campus for the conference.*

* Tsi C. Wang, The Youth Movement, p. 203. The New Republic, Inc., New York, 1928.

The movement grew, spreading all over the country, mostly among the intelligentsia. Whereas the shift of attack from Christianity to religion in general, on the part of the leaders, was based on an intellectual basis, the movement responded everywhere with the chief attention on Christianity. Its principles were attacked as dangerous to China and its Church was attacked as alien to Chinese society. Some would tolerate Christianity if it were separated from foreign control; Wang Ching-Wei's statement is typical of this attitude.*

* Upton Close in his Revolt of Asia quotes a statement of Wang Ching-Wei's position in his attack upon Christianity: "Christianity is to stop right now as far as it is the wedge of foreign influence driven into our country by foreign money and organization, controlled by foreign personnel and backed by foreign governments. Christianity will have the same opportunity in our new China, as say, Buddhism in your America, so far as it is a teaching religion on intellectual and spiritual conviction. Although I, and most of my associates are scientific agnostics, we will see that it has full protection but it must start all over again on this new basis." Josef Washington Hall, (Upton Close), Revolt of Asia, p. 248, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1927.

Some Christians thought this anti-religicus, anti-Christian movement, which lasted for a year or so, had died down, but as a matter of fact, the movement was perfused through the social and political movements that followed. Since then, such movements have disfavored, if they have not opposed or ostracized, organizations that have distinct religious affiliations.

Let us note a few points revealed by this movement. First, it was the World Christian Students Federation Conference in Peking that gave birth to the anti-Christian and anti-religious movement. Attacks on religion and Christianity in writing were found prior to this date,‡ but this social irritation was

‡ Wang, Op. Cit., pp. 188-200.

required to fan the sparks into flame. Second, the use of the

term "Federation" and the name "Anti-Christian Student Federation" was a challenge to the Christian students and students of the Christian schools, as it suggested the existence of two diametrically opposed camps and intensified the difference of alignment that had not been given much thought before. Third, in this movement, as in many others, there was a blending between the forces of nationalism and modernization. If we call it a movement for modernism in the name of science and freedom of thought, we must admit that it has a lining of nationalism. While the intellectual leaders were more inclined to attack the problem from the standpoint of modern civilization, more or less in the name of science, the common people often responded from the standpoint of China, more or less in the name of nationalism.

Other Student Political Movements Since 1919

The Student Movement of 1919 was centered on one single incident—the Shantung question. However, it led the way for later student movements by creating a national organ, the National Student Association, for participation in more thoroughly national programs. At the Fifth National Convention of the student delegates, held in Canton in August 1923, the Student Movement pledged itself to the political platform of the Chinese Nationalist Party. In the Sixth and Seventh National Conventions in 1924 and 1925, the program and procedures of the National Student Association became more definite and specific.

Because of the dissatisfaction over the failure to bring about better relations between China and the powers in the Washington Conference of 1922, the growing sign of the collapse of the Peking government, the indications of cooperation between each of the militarists with an identified imperialistic power, the death of Sun Yat-Sen and the Shanghai massacre,* the new

* Arthur A. Holcombe, The Chinese Revolution, pp. 175-181. Harvard University Press, 1930.

revolutionary spirit became increasingly active. Accordingly, the student movement kept pace with it. With Communistic leadership in organization and planning, and with the creation in 1924 of the Youth Department in the central as well as in the local bureaus of the Kuo-Min-Tang for the purpose of directing, centralizing and nationalizing the work among youth, the student movement became affiliated with the Nationalist Movement and an integral part of it.

The activities of the students were chiefly political. "Down with Imperialism" and "Down with the Militarists" were their main slogans. The first slogan was linked with the protests against the Unequal Treaties, extra-territoriality, foreign troops in China, mission education, etc. The most

outstanding incidents were the three episodes of student bloodshed—the Shanghai Massacre of May, 1925,* the Canton

* The Shanghai Massacre is often known as the May 30th Tragedy as it happened on that day. It originated with a protest in which many students and workers were arrested, against the murder of a Chinese factory worker by the Japanese. In the further protest of the masses in Shanghai against the arrest, in another demonstration, the police of the International Settlement in Shanghai fired at them. Among the victims of the shooting were some students. Of the effect this incident had upon the schools, its bearing upon the missionary schools is most significant. This will be further discussed in the Chapter on Nationalism and Private Schools.

Massacre of June, 1925* and the Peking Massacre of March,

* The Canton massacre followed the Shanghai incident. As it occurred on June 23, 1925, it is often referred to as the June 23rd incident. It was a result of the protest against the Shanghai massacre. As the demonstration was passing along the Sha Kee, Chinese territory opposite to Shameen, the masses were fired upon by the British and French troops in Shameen. Many students were killed.

1926.‡ The second slogan was linked with the protests against

‡ The Peking incident occurred on March 18, 1926, and is often known as the 3-1-8 tragedy. It started from the protest of eight treaty powers of the 1901 Protocol against the blockade of Ta Ko Port by the Kuo Min Chuan in its warfare with Chang Tso-Lin. This aroused the antagonism of the people. A demonstration was held in Peking, in which many citizens were killed and wounded in their conflict with the government guards. Among the victims were many students.

governmental policies in territories not under the national government, also with the support of the Northern expedition. Many students were eager to participate in the Northern Expedition. They flocked to the Whampao Academy at Canton, established in 1924, in which officers for the new army were trained. The new student element in the army increased the efficiency and prestige of the Northern Expeditionary Army and thus quickened its success.

Inasmuch as the Communists contributed to the Chinese Nationalist Government by mobilizing and directing the students in the nationalist cause, it is to be expected that they also exerted tremendous influence over the students for the cause of Communism. Inasmuch as the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Communist Party have their differences in political theory and in political strategies, their open breach of friendship in 1927 certainly resulted in open antagonism and hostility in the student body. Before the breach, there had been conflicts in student bodies between those who were straight followers of Sun Yat-Sen and those who were straight followers of Lenin. But, after the open breach, the Communist element was actually persecuted for its faith and activity.

In the latter part of 1927 and throughout 1928 and 1929, the student movement practically died out, for several reasons. First, the government discouraged it, because the students were

not needed in that stage of the Nationalist Movement. Second, it wanted to eliminate the students movement as a place for Communistic agitation. Third, students themselves feared that they would be accused of cherishing Communistic ideals. Those who remained active found shelter in the International Settlement at Shanghai.

Greater discipline on the students in the schools was encouraged and demanded by the Government.* Student

* See Section X, "Regulations Regarding Students," Current Educational Laws and Regulations Issued by the Central Government and the Kwangtung Provincial Government. Published by Sun Yat-Sen University, Canton, 1929. (In Chinese).

Unions, especially those which embraced wide areas, such as the whole nation, were looked upon with great disfavor. Even the name of the student organizations in the schools had to change from "Student Association" back to "Student Government," so that their activities would be limited to "self-government" or "self-control."‡ To cope with cases where the

‡ Ibid., pp. 261-263.

student movement continued active, against the wishes of the government, Tang-Yu or "Partisan Imprisonment" became common.

The attitude of the Nationalist Government since its establishment in Nanking in 1927 toward the student movement is most clearly seen in its reply to the Twenty-Two Demands of the National Students Association of Shanghai,* in the appeal

* Shun Pao Daily, Shanghai, July 21, 1927. (In Chinese).

of Tai Chi-Tao, President of the Sun Yat-Sen University, to the students‡ for a calmer disposition, greater concentration of

‡ Tai Chi-Tao, The Path of Youth. Min Chi Book Co., Shanghai, 1928. (In Chinese).

learning and the preservation of Chinese virtues, and in Chiang Kai-Shek's Letter to the Students of the Nation dated December 9th, 1930,§ promulgated by the Executive Yuan of which

§ The Overseas Chinese Daily, Hongkong, Section 1, p. 4, December 13, 1930. (In Chinese).

he has been president.

The reply of the Educational Executive Commission in July, 1927, to the twenty-two demands of the Student Association Union in Shanghai was a great shock to the student movement and great relief to those who had been worrying about what the students might do next. The demands represent the general student atmosphere that had been true for several years, and the reply represents the government's new policy to put an end to this student assertion. In substance, the demands were for freedom in choosing leaders, the representation of students in

school administration, the abolition of periodical examinations, and the expulsion of students only with the approval of the Students' Union of the school. These demands were all flatly turned down.

To the present writer, Chiang's letter is one of the most important educational documents of the last few years. It is a resumé of the government's recent policies of education and attitude toward the student movement. In this letter, Chiang pointed out the deplorable situation of student life and school studies, the future responsibility of the students in China's construction, the necessity for the Chinese students to devote themselves to science and scholarship and to value the educational opportunity, and his determination to be intolerant with student actions which opposed or implied opposition to the government.

Whether we call the government measure suppression or merely discouragement of the student movement, the fact is that as a movement it has been free from political activity since the spring of 1927, and that, as a movement of national scope and of organized character, it was brought to an end by the order of the Kuomintang (The Chinese Nationalist Party) on October 9, 1929, which stopped the activities of the National Student Union.* This action was due to the government's

* Educational Review, Vol. XXI, No. 11, pp. 121-122. (In Chinese).

desire to minimize the agencies of popular movement for the stabilization of government and to plan for the preservation and cultivation of human resources in the student body for the nation's future, as so well expressed in that letter. But how permanent such a policy can be depends upon the social and political situations that may or may not turn up.

There are two points which need to be pointed out regarding Chiang's letter; one is his silence on the merits of the sttudent movement, the other is his challenge to the students' claim of freedom. He made no reference to the place of the student movement in the cause of the nationalist movement or in the cause of the Nation in the past. Instead, he openly challenged the freedom of the student, claiming that there is freedom only for the Nation, not for individual students. This is, indeed, the challenge of an uncompromising type of nationalism. To quote him in full regarding this point:

> "The President of the Party (Sun Yat-Sen) has said: The party members have no freedom, students have no freedom, officials have no freedom. What we strive for is the freedom of the country and the freedom of the nation. That is to say, what is learned is learned for the freedom of the country and nation. But the young students do not know that the nation's freedom and the individual's freedom can not exist together. If individual freedom exists, the

nation's freedom is gone. As a consequence (when individual freedom exists) the nationals in the country would be likened unto a basin of incoherent sand, the country would forever be under the exploitation and oppression of various undesirable doctrines, and the nation shall forever perish without seeing the day of its independence and freedom. To think of it, does it not make us more cautious and revolved?"*

* The Overseas Chinese Daily, Hongkong, Section 1, p. 4, December 13, 1930. (In Chinese).

STUDENT INTERESTS

Heretofore, the part which the students have played in the political life of China in the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, in the protest against imperialism, and in the Nationalist movement has been presented. We have approached the problem of the relationship between nationalism and students by analyzing the major, organized political movements. Another approach to the discovery of this relationship can be made by studying the students' interests or their social and school life of more or less unorganized character. Of the voluntary student clubs in the schools, for instance, the Chinese Music Club and the Chinese Boxing Club are among the most popular recreational ones. Also, among the students, there is a popular sentiment which approves of the consumption of Chinese goods and materials and disapproves of things foreign, especially imported goods. Furthermore, aside from the more or less destructive aspects of the student associations in their political activities, they have been doing constructive work that deserves very high praise—for example, the maintenance of free schools for poorer children and illiterate adults. As Professor Monroe observed: "In 1921 when I visited government and private schools in ten of the provinces, scarcely a school was found, even among those of an elementary character, that was not conducting a free school for poor children, taught and supported either by teacher or pupils or both."*

* Paul Monroe, China: A Nation in Evolution, p. 184. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1928.

Although the education they offer to the less fortunate is a reproduction of the kind they receive, which, at best, is political if not entirely academic, their enthusiasm to do their part in solving the nation's problem is shown.

There is a wide-awake interest among the students in the political life of the nation. This is illustrated by their interest in the newspapers, by the contents of their articles and compositions, and by their professional outlook. In regard to the students' interest in the newspapers, Professor Monroe has observed: "The general political interest and the growing

patriotism of the students are not to be denied. The newspaper reading room in any school is always crowded, no matter when one visits it. Other portions of the library evidence no such interest."* A study of student interest in the newspapers found

* Ibid., p. 286.

that from the fifth year of the elementary school to the last year of the senior high school, of fourteen items in the newspaper, the students pay most attention to items about the Nation, and, with some exceptions, allot the most time to them.‡

‡ Hsu Hsi-Ling, "Reading Interests and Habits of Children (II)," Chinese Journal of Education Research, Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 44-48, Nov., 1930. (In Chinese).

The articles the students write for their magazines and perhaps even more so for their wall papers—bulletin boards—are frequently of political and patriotic character. Regarding the latter, Professor Monroe has said, "The bulletin boards, which usually contain a school paper, consist largely of clippings of a political character and of editorials of a similar tune."§

§ Paul Monroe, Op. Cit.

The attempt of the school authorities to censor the student papers has resulted in many school strikes. As to their compositions, it is interesting to see how often subjects of no nationalistic or patriotic implications whatsoever are treated as if it were understood that they were to be written in the interest of nationalism—national unity, national culture, national sovereignty and national prosperity.

The political interest of the students is seen further in their professional outlook. Their political ambitions are often revealed in their conversations and discussions. In the professional schools, the largest numbers are enrolled in Law and Political Science. This has been true in Peking University for thirty years.* The group studying these two subjects also

* See the Bulletin of the Thirty-First Year Anniversary of Peking University, Dec. 17, 1929. (In Chinese).

dominates in the technical schools, colleges and universities of the country.‡ Thus, in spite of the absence of a pension system

‡ Of the total enrolment recorded for the years 1912 to 1916 (inclusive) the distribution in the various branches of technical schools is as follows: Higher Normal Training, 11,033, Law, 105,071, Medicine 3,073, Agriculture 6,459, Industry 11,559, Commerce 4,917, Foreign Language 1,969. The distribution in the various branches of the colleges and universities is as follows: Preparatory Department 10,188, Arts 703, Science 189, Law 2,555, Commerce 378, Agriculture 118, Engineering 1,304, Unspecified 3,706. (China Year Book, Vol. I, 1924, p. 1907. The Commercial Press, Shanghai.—In Chinese).

for government officials, the lowering of the prestige of the officials in recent years and the popular respect for technicians,

students still choose political careers. Apparently they believe that the problems of the nation must be tackled directly from the government.

THE SCHOOL STRIKES

There is a phase of student movement which is called *Hsieh Chao*, meaning, literally, "School Tide," which refers to the destructive group activity of the students regarding certain regulations or conduct of the school. These often take the form of strikes or the withdrawal from school of the whole student body.* It is true that school strikes became more common after the student movement of 1919, but it must not be forgotten that they have been frequent ever since the introduction of the modern school system. The first strike that resulted in the withdrawal of the whole student body was that in the Nanyang College in Shanghai in 1903.‡ Chu Yuan-Shan, writing in 1913, lamented over the situation of 1912, saying that in the eleven middle schools (High Schools) in Che Kiang Province there had been seven or eight strikes in 1912, and, in the eleven middle schools in Kiang-Su Province, there had been four or five strikes in the same year.§ Evidently the number increased greatly after 1919.† During the period of the Nationalist movement to unify China from 1925 to 1927 school strikes became very frequent. From 1928 to 1929, after the establishment of the Nationalist government in Nanking, they became less frequent, as they were unnecessary for the solution of the nation's problems. But in the year 1930, according to the reports of the Chinese daily newspapers and the Educational News column of the Educational Review in various issues, school strikes increased again, chiefly in the colleges and universities and not infrequently because of the qualifications of the president.

* The Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, Vol. II, p. 1520, The Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930. (In Chinese).

‡ Shu, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China, Vol. III, pp. 116-119. (In Chinese).

§ Chu Yuan-Shan, "A Discussion of Hsieh Chao (School Strikes)," Educational Review, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 52. (In Chinese).

† According to the Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, p. 1521, in the year 1922 alone there were 106 cases in the country.

However watchful we may be for the nationalistic implications of the school strikes, it must be remembered that there are also other factors at work. There are causes that may be attributed to the psychological stage of youth, to the disqualification and bad influence of teachers, to the misinterpretation of freedom, to the poor educational policies of the adminis-

trators, to the lack of understanding between students and teachers, to the influence of public opinion, and to the general inflexibility of the cultural background. In fact, some writers on the subject* have thought of those as the major causes of that school phenomenon. But in the interests of nationalism we cannot escape from other considerations also. First, the underlying cause of the prevalence of school strikes is the general social and national discontent and unrest. Second, the school strikes have always been instrumental to political revolutionary tactics. The revolutionary party encourages, and even agitates, school strikes in the areas where they want to seize control by intensifying the atmosphere of unrest. Third, the anti-religion movement in 1922, the subsequent movement for the Restoration of the Rights of Education and the May 30th Incident of 1925, added new reasons—those of anti-religious instruction, of anti-mission education and of sheer patriotism.*

* See Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, p. 1521, and Chu Yuan-Shan, "A Discussion of School Strikes," Educational Review, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 52-57. (Both Published by the Commercial Press.—In Chinese).

* These causes affected the mission schools chiefly; a fuller discussion will be found in Chapter VII on Nationalism and Private Schools.

A SUMMARY

The student migrations abroad and the political and social activities of the students constitute the chief objects of the study of nationalism and students in this chapter. We traced the causes and development of the student migratory movements to the United States, to Europe, to Japan, and to Russia. We discovered that the friendliness of the foreign governments, the stimulation of national crisis, the question of expense, and the needs of the nation were factors that determined the direction and character of the movements abroad. It was revealed that, from the standpoint of national prosperity, the movements abroad have been very favorable, but that, from the standpoint of national culture, they have been less favorable.

The political movements of the students in China did not begin in 1919; indeed, they began even before the Revolution of 1911. The student movements capitalized by the events of 1911, 1919, 1922 and 1925 were presented with their causes and effects. The degree of the spontaneousness of the students in response to the social situations and the varying attitudes of the government toward them from time to time were pointed out. An analysis of the student interests also revealed the dominance of a national outlook. Furthermore, certain aspects of the school strikes were shown to be of national or nationalistic implications.

CHAPTER VI

NATIONALISM AND TEACHERS

The subject Nationalism and School Education is incomplete without a presentation of the relationship between nationalism and the school teachers of the country. But since little data bearing on the subject are available, the writer is compelled to treat it briefly. The situation of the teachers will be analyzed primarily in the interest of national power, national unity, national culture, and national sovereignty, and, also, the place of the teacher in the student movements presented in the preceding chapter will be shown.

The place of the teacher in training the younger generation has been emphasized by educators and statesmen in all modern countries. Many say that however important educational philosophy, the curriculum, and textbooks may be, in the last analysis all depends upon the teacher. Although at times his importance may be over-emphasized as compared with the social situation to which even the teacher is subject, his great influence over the students in one way or the other cannot be denied. In China, prior to the movement for the selection of teachers popular a few years ago, the teacher was greatly respected, both by his pupils and by his society.* That traditional respect

* "In China the place of the teacher has always been an exalted and honored one. If we compare conditions in ancient Greece, the humble position of the pedagogue stands out in striking contrast. And the conditions in Rome, when Rome employed enslaved Greeks as instructors for their boys, would be utterly foreign and incomprehensible to the educational thought in China." (H. S. Galt, "Oriental and Occidental Elements in China's Modern Educational System," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Peiping, 1928, p. 425).

was an inherited gift from the days when all teachers were scholars of Chinese culture. For the purpose of increasing the esteem of the teacher, people still quote the old Chinese phrase "Heaven, Earth, the Prince, the Parents, the Teacher" as a reminder of the traditional respect due him. Whereas the meagerly trained teachers of the modern elementary schools can hardly retain the social position of the scholars of the old days, the national intellectual leaders, whether they actually teach or not, command a very great influence over the population. The discussion in the following pages, unless specified, will present the situation of teachers in general without special reference to the level of schools to which they are attached or

the time when their influence was exerted, or whether before, while, or after they were teachers.

THE TEACHER AND NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

How nationalism affects the thinking of the teachers is too involved a subject to be discussed here. But how the teachers affect the national movements, especially those in which the students take part, can be demonstrated. There were many national movements in which the influence of the teachers can be seen. The first of these was the famous Reform of 1898 for radical modernization, under the leadership of Kang Yu-Wei and Liang Chi-Chao.* Also, in the revolution for the overthrow

* The master-disciple relationship between Kang Yu-Wei and Liang Chi-Chao is well-known. Liang came under Kang's influence when he was a student in Kang's school in Canton from 1891 to 1894. The pupils of Kang and later those of Liang became forces in the movement for reform. (See Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, p. 1084. Commercial Press, 1930. In Chinese).

of the Manchus, many teachers became revolutionists and many revolutionists became teachers. Huang Hsing's revolutionary activities may be taken as an example. "In that year (1904) Huang (Hsing) and Chang Pu-Chuan both taught in the Ming Te School in Changsha. In name they were teachers, but in practice they spread revolutionary ideas."* Another writer

* Pan Su-Pien, An Account of the Major Events of the Last Sixty Years in China Since the Birth of Sun Yat-Sen, p. 80. (In Chinese).

said that in the after-class hours he vigorously preached his revolutionary gospel. succeeding in getting a large group to follow the movement.‡

‡ Pei Hua, History of the Chinese Revolution, p. 20. Kuang Ming Book Co., Shanghai, 1927. (In Chinese).

The leaders of the Renaissance Movement were professors in the National University in Peking.§ Also, the Student

§ The leaders were Chen Tu-Shiu, Hu Shih, Chien Tung-Hsuan, Liu Fu, Shen Yin-Mo, Li Ta-Chao. Chen was the dean of the College of Letters of the National University in Peking, and the others were professors.

Movement of the famous May Fourth (1919) was not entirely a student movement. It had received faculty stimulation and endorsement. There is no intention of belittling the students' credit in the movement, but the message sent from Paris by the old teacher Liang Chi-Chao ten days before the event must be noted.† Furthermore, the great exponents of the Anti-Religion

† On April 24, 1919, Liang Chi-Chao sent from Paris the following telegram to the People's Union for Foreign Relations: "In the German case, it is heard that Tsingtao shall be transferred directly to Japan, owing to the insistence of the Japanese delegates, who have influenced England and France. If we admit this, it would be tieing ropes around

ourselves. Please warn the government and the people to impose severely upon our delegates not to give their signatures in order to show our determination." (See "An Account of the Student Strike," Chung Hwa Educational Review, Vol. VIII, No. 1, July, 1919.—In Chinese).

Movement of 1922 were intellectuals of high repute—for example, Tsai Yuan-Pei, President of the National University in Peking, and Li Shih-Tseng, dean of the Law Department.*

* "On March 21st, the Federation sent out a circular telegram signed by 79 men, among whom was Li Shih-Tseng, one of the most active leaders. Organizations were quickly formed among the students of Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, Paotingfu, Tai Yuan, Wu Hu, Wuchang, and Changsha." Tsi C. Wang, The Youth Movement, pp. 201-202).

In the demonstration against the Joint Note of Warning sent by the Diplomatic Corps in Peking, the leadership of the teaching staff was also noticeable. This demonstration resulted in bloodshed, and, as a result, has been known as the 3-1-8 Tragedy, or the March 18th Tragedy of 1926. The chairman of the demonstration was George Chien Hsu, formerly dean of a law school in Shanghai, and the chief speaker was Ku Meng-Yu, dean of the Department of Economics of Peking National University.‡

‡ "An account of the March Eighteenth Incident," Educational Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, April, 1926. (In Chinese).

While it is true that among a certain group of teachers there was a great deal of enthusiasm and sympathy for the national movements, it is also true that another group showed little or no sympathy for them. It often depended upon the nature of the movement and the extent to which the school or the teachers were concerned. When the movement was anti-Manchu or anti-Japan, not only the Chinese teachers supported it, but also the British and American teachers as well. But when the movement was anti-British, as in the case of the May 30th Incident, even the American teachers were prone to disapprove. The split of the faculty of St. John's University as the result of the disagreement between the Chinese and the American staff regarding the attitude which the school was to adopt is an outstanding example.* In the Anti-Religion

* See "The Public Announcement of the Chinese Staff of St. John's University regarding their resignation." June 3. 1925. (See Chung Hwa Educational Review, Vol. XV, No. 1, July, 1925.—In Chinese).

Movement, those teachers who had religious affiliations were, of course, unsympathetic. In many instances when the head of an institution was friendly to the head of the Government against which the nationalistic movement was directed, or when the financial support of the institution depended upon the fate of the existing government, the teachers, whose welfare was

primarily the welfare of the institution, were often reactionary.‡

‡ Two instances may suffice. The National South-eastern University at Nanking was patronized by the military leaders and the officials of the North. Kuo Ping-Wen, president of the University, was accused by the Nationalists as anti-revolutionary in his speech and action during the Nationalists' campaign to unify China. In Lingnan University, Canton, on Oct. 22, 1922, the students protested against the loan contract for £2,000,000 between a British-Franco concern and the Kwangtung Government under the Governorship of Chen Kuing-Ming. Chung Yung-Kwang, vice-president of the University then, was opposed to the students' action. It was known that he was on very good terms with the governor and that the University had been recently promised a large sum of annual subsidy by Chen's government.

DESIRE FOR NATIONAL POWER AND THE TRAINING FOR TEACHERS

China had no organized system of teaching before 1903, when the new school system was introduced,§ because, for one

§ Normal training departments were established in Nanyang Academy in 1897 and in the Peking University the following year. But as a system, normal training was not inaugurated until 1903. (See J. P. Chu, "Normal School Education in China," p. 1, Bulletin on Education in China, 1923, issued by China Association for the Advancement of Education.)

thing, before that time she was not conscious of the importance of universal education to the nation's welfare. But, along with the new school system went the founding of normal schools.*

* In the "Outlines of Education" promulgated in 1903, there was a section with this caption: "Normal Schools Should Be First Established Immediately." A statement from that section reads: "We understand that in order to enlighten the nationals of fundamental knowledge, to popularize education, the primary school is the most important. That is to say, the lower normal school which is to train primary school teachers is the first major step to take in the program of education." (Shu, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China, Vol. II, p. 9.—In Chinese).

Four types were set up, the last two of which were established to meet the great need for teachers. These four were: The Higher Normal School for the training of Middle School and Lower Normal School teachers, the Lower Normal School for the training of primary school teachers, the Normal Institute, and the Institute for the Training of Teachers of Vocational Subjects.‡

‡ See T. Y. Teng et al., "Preparation of Teachers in China," p. 4. Education in China, 1923. Published by the Society for the Study of International Education, Peking, 1923.

The anxiety for national power, the eagerness to popularize education, and the enthusiasm for training teachers for the modern schools were all interrelated. Consequently, coupled with the government's effort to train teachers at Home was the movement of students to Japan, through government or private

efforts. Of the thousands of students who went there, many entered normal schools, some to learn curriculum and methods, others school administration. This movement was encouraged by government leaders.§ Indeed, so far as numbers were

§ In 1901, Chang Chi-Tung and Liu Yi-Kuan, in their joint petition to the Emperor, which endorsed the sending of students abroad, stated: "Of course modern schools have to be established rapidly; but unless they are established in great numbers, they will not be sufficient to be useful. There are two difficulties, however, in regard to establishing them in great numbers, first, the enormousness of the budget, and second, the scarcity of teachers. The difficulty in procuring teachers is even greater than in procuring revenue. When schools are to be established all over the country, the number will exceed tens of thousands. Whether it be University or primary school, teachers will be scarce. Therefore the only way is to send students abroad to study." (Quoted by Shu Hsin-Cheng, A Modern History of Chinese Student Movement Abroad, pp. 48-49.—In Chinese).

concerned, normal training was emphasized above all lines of training. As a result after their training these returned students filled the schools in all parts of China. As Shu has pointed out: "After 1904, the teachers and administrators of the schools in all the provinces were in a large majority normal students from Japan."*

* Ibid., p. 53.

It is difficult to find a similar enthusiasm for normal education in China after the early days of the establishment of the modern school system. The reasons are many, but they do not lie within the scope of the present discussion. The change in the conception of the importance of universal primary education and of the value of normal education must be one of them. To illustrate the point that the enthusiasm for normal education has died down, is the fact that many of the national higher normal schools have been converted into regular universities‡ and that the number of (lower) normal

‡ "Except for the Higher Normal School at Peking, which has become a Normal College, the rest of the higher normal schools have been practically completely reorganized into regular academic colleges. For instance, the Higher Normal School at Nanking has been changed into the South-Eastern University, the Higher Normal School at Wuchang has been changed into the Wuchang University, the Higher Normal School at Canton has been changed into the Kwangtung University, the Higher Normal School at Fengtien has been changed into the North-Eastern University. The Higher Normal School at Chengtuo is also contemplating a similar change. . . . This movement is certainly a good sign from the standpoint of developing university education, but the spirit of higher normal education is practically destroyed." (Li Chi-Yen, Training of Teachers in Various Countries, pp. 387-388. Commercial Press, 1927.—In Chinese).

schools and their enrolments have made very small progress since the first year of the Chinese Republic.*

* The number of normal schools in China in 1912-1913, less than ten years after the introduction of normal education, was reported to be 253 with an enrolment of 28,604 students. After another ten years,

according to the statistics for 1922-1923, the number of schools was 275 and the enrolment 38,277. The increase in the number of schools was 9 per cent and that of enrolment 34 per cent. (Ibid., pp. 339-342.)

While Normal education has been neglected in educational practice, it has not been neglected in verbal discussion. Writers on normal education still point to the importance of normal education, and to the need for 780,000 more teachers for the education of 35,000,000 children of school age who are not in school.‡§ Many of them constantly remind the teachers in

‡ See Yu Chia-Chue, Normal Education, pp. 138-140. Chung Hwa Book Co., Shanghai, 1920. (In Chinese).
Another writer gives a higher estimate—54,000,000 children and the need for 1,000,000 more teachers—(see Teng, Y.T. et al, "Normal Training in China" p. 16, Education in China, 1923).

§ Of course, it is unfair to compare the teacher training conditions in China at her infant stage of modern education with those of the other countries at their highly advanced stage of development. Should one do so, the conditions would be most deplorable, for while she has a population of 400,000,000 people as against 39,000,000 in France, she has only 195 normal schools as against 183 in France, (Yu Chia-Chue, Normal Education, p. 140. Educational Year book, 1927, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, p. 504), which is to say that she has a dozen more normal schools for the surplus of 361,000,000 in population. But even if we take the conditions of normal school education in those countries in the early days of the establishment of popular education, we find that China has not placed sufficient emphasis on teachers' training since the dawn of the Republic as did Germany, France and Japan.

service as well as those in training that the teaching profession is sacred and that the future of China lies in their hands. This appeal to patriotism is often necessary to maintain the high moral standard of the teachers and to keep them in their jobs in spite of the fact that their salary payments come months behind time, if at all. It is doubtful, however, in face of other considerations, how long this morale can be maintained when the kind of popular education for which they sacrifice themselves fails to convince them of its significant bearing upon the nation's prosperity. Very few teachers now are teachers because they feel the call of a national duty or even of professional interest. Quite a number of those who enter normal training do so merely because it is the most attractive educational opportunity with the offer of free maintenance. Many take up teaching in the higher institutions merely as a stepping stone to better offerings. Such an educational atmosphere may be highly undesirable for a nation whose popular educational system is only in its infancy.

NATIONAL UNITY AND CONTROL WITH REGARD TO TEACHERS AND TEACHER TRAINING

Since the inauguration of the normal school system, normal school education has been looked upon as the function of the state. This shows itself in the centralization of the normal school system, in the control of the curriculum, in the

government support of the teachers-in-training, and in the certification of teachers. In the organization of the normal school system, there has been more national control since the establishment of the Republic; but in other ways, in general, there has been less nationalization.

Under the Imperial School Regulation of 1903, each province was to establish a higher normal school in its capital city, and each county (Hsien) was to establish a lower normal school. The holding capacity of the higher normal school was fixed at 300 and that of the lower normal school at 150. After the founding of the Republic in 1912, the organization was more centralized. Higher normal schools were directly under the administration of the Ministry of Education of the national government. All the provincial higher normal schools were closed, and in their place, six higher normal school districts were established with a higher normal school* in each. The

* A separate higher normal school for girls was also established in Peking, the only one of its kind in the whole country, making the total number of higher normal schools seven.

centers of these districts were: Peking, Nanking, Mukden, Canton, Wuchang, and Chengtu. The lower normal schools were called "normal schools" with the word "lower" dropped, though the function was the same.

However, instead of leaving the normal schools in the hands of the counties, the provinces assumed that power. All the normal schools were called Provincial normal schools, their number being determined by each province with the approval of the Ministry of Education. The principals of the higher normal schools were appointed by the Ministry, and those of the provincial normal schools by the governor of the province. The counties, under special conditions, could establish normal schools, but the approval of the ministry was necessary. Private individuals were allowed to establish private normal schools, but both the fulfilment of normal school regulations and the approval of the Ministry were required. As to financial support, the provincial normal schools were supported by the provinces and the higher normal schools had to depend upon their own resources. As a matter of principle the Ministry did not approve of the counties' participation in normal school training,* and, although county and private normal schools

* Yu Chia-Chue, Normal Education, p. 127. Chung Hua Book Company, Shanghai, 1920. (In Chinese).

were allowed, the number in existence was very small.‡ No

‡ Teng Tsui-Ying, "Normal Education in China." A General Survey of the New Education in China. Chung Hwa Book Co., Shanghai, 1930. (In Chinese).

provision was made for the provinces or private individuals to maintain higher normal schools. In fact, none existed.

Since the adoption of the 6-3-3 plan in 1922, changes in the normal school system have been taking place. Instead of being an independent system of its own, normal education is being diffused into the general educational system. Normal courses are now offered in the senior high schools and educational departments are being established in the universities and colleges. Though the normal schools and the normal colleges are allowed to continue their separate existence with standing equal to the senior high schools and the regular colleges, a normal school education is far from being a system of its own with a monopoly of teacher training, and its significance as the mother institution of general education in the country has been destroyed. It is the tendency for normal school education and higher normal education to be considered more as problems of secondary and higher education respectively than as a common problem of teacher training for general education.

Besides the external control of the normal schools, there is the internal control as implied in the curriculum. Before 1922 the normal school curriculum was prescribed by the Ministry with specific details for the whole country. The only leeway suggested officially was that the subject "commerce" could be used to substitute "agriculture" as local needs demanded. But it would be incorrect to read too much into the form of the curriculum regulations, because, in practice, the prescriptions are not followed closely, nor has it been the policy of the Ministry to do so. The localities are allowed to vary by obtaining the approval of the Ministry. The elaborate prescriptions are suggestions, though not openly stated as so, rather than requirements. As some writer said in a report to the International Educational Conference of 1923: "The curriculum of the public schools are elaborately planned out in the educational law by the Ministry of Education. But each locality is permitted to modify them within certain limits according to its particular conditions and needs, with the approval of the Ministry. For a country where modern education is not yet developed, the lack of educational experts and leaders in many places makes it necessary for the government to fix certain standards to be followed by all schools. At the same time, however, the social and economic conditions are widely different from place to place; so the Ministry of Education does not forget to encourage the local initiative if it is suitable. Therefore, even in the national higher normal schools, the organization and curriculum are not exactly the same in all."* In the new plan after 1922, there is even greater

* T. Y. Teng, et al, "Preparation of Teachers," p. 17, Education in China, 1923.

flexibility in the choice of courses by individual schools as well as by individual students. Individual freedom is more the character of normal education in China now than national standardization.

As in the French system, normal students are maintained by public expense during their period of training. In like manner, the status of the teacher in training may be compared with that of the army officer. Normal school students have not only free tuition, but also free board and room. Graduates, in turn, have obligations to fulfil. According to the regulations, the terms of service after graduation are fixed with special reference to the level of the normal school, to the sex of the graduate, and whether they had been receiving full scholarships, half-scholarships, or only free tuition. Also, those who fail to comply with the terms of service will have to refund to the government in accordance with his particular status. The graduate of the provincial normal school is supposed to teach within his province, but permission can be obtained to teach outside the province or in the Colonies of the overseas Chinese. There are also ways and means by which one can get the number of years of obligatory service reduced. As a matter of fact, the regulations regarding the terms of service after graduation have not been enforced.* Governmental control has been but

* J. P. Chu, "Normal Education in China," p. 7, Bulletins on Chinese Education, 1923.
See also Y. T. Teng, "Normal Education," A General Survey of the New Education in China, p. 131. (In Chinese).

a matter of name. For this reason, normal school education has often been looked upon as the most opportune training should one be seeking an education with free maintenance. In recent years, as a result of the new school plan, students in the normal course of the senior high school and those in the education department of the university are given no special privileges. In the Normal College at Peking, which is still maintained as a separate normal institution, tuition is the only item provided free. Also, in the normal schools in the provinces, fees of some kind are being charged.

In regard to the financial privileges of the teacher, the Nationalist Government in 1926 established a system of pensions for teachers.‡ The fund for the pension is to be provided by

‡ "Pension System for Teachers and School Officers" issued by the Nationalist Government on Nov. 2, 1926. (The Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, p. 1064-1065. The Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930.—In Chinese).

the national, provincial, or county governments according to the immediate jurisdiction under which the teachers of the schools come. But the financial conditions of the country at the

present time make it impossible to comment on the significance of this pension system as yet, except to say that there is a conception that the teacher is an employee of the State, one to whom the State pays more attention than to other state employees.

The certification of teachers is a common practice of the modern states to ascertain the quality and kind of education provided. According to the regulations by the Ministry of Education, no one without a certificate is supposed to teach, either in the primary school or in the university. The Ministry's regulations, promulgated in 1920, regarding the certification of elementary school teachers is reviewed here.* Graduates of

* See Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, p. 1065. The Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930. (In Chinese).

normal schools with diplomas are automatically entitled to teachers' certificates. Those who have one of the following qualifications are granted certificates by passing a physical examination only: (1) graduates of middle schools who have taught in primary schools for one year or more, (2) graduates of technical schools of secondary school level with accumulated studies, (3) graduates of professional schools with special qualifications to teach a particular subject, (4) primary school teachers with good records who have taught at least three years. By passing an examination on the following subjects —ethics, classcis, education, Chinese, history, geography, mathematics, nature study, science, and drawing—or by a more intensive examination on one of those subjects, those with one of the following qualifications may also become certified teachers: (1) those who have studied in normal schools, secondary schools, or schools of secondary level for two years or more, (2) those who have been elementary school teachers for a year, (3) graduates of special training courses lasting six months or more, (4) those who are specialized in a field of study, possess a knowledge of educational principles, and have written some articles.*

* See T. Y. Teng et al., "Normal Training in China," pp. 15-16, Education in China, 1923.

The qualifications of university teachers who are classified as Professors, Assistant Professors, Lecturers and Instructors, are also specified. The Power to issue certificates to this group lies in the hands of the Ministry of Education, which acts upon an examination of the credentials of the candidate regarding his personal experience, the diploma he possesses, the work he has published, and the record of his service.‡

‡ See Current Educational Regulations and Laws of the Central Government and the Provincial Government of Kwangtung, p. 232. Published by the Institute of Educational Research, Sun Yat-Sen National University, Canton, 1929. (In Chinese).

While these regulations exist, it is incorrect to say that they are being carried out. Except in the elementary schools, where they have been enforced in a few provinces, the regulations are idle statements. On the levels above the elementary school, they have never been carried out.§ The

§ Yu Chia-Chue, Normal Education, p. 152. Chung Hua Book Company, Shanghai, 1920. (In Chinese).

situation has largely remained the same since the establishment of the National Government at Nanking. These regulations, however, have the general endorsement of the educational public and are in no way severe. They will probably be made effective as soon as the Government reaches a stage of stability.

Let us note two interesting facts regarding the certification of teachers and the control of the Kuo-Min-Tang (The Chinese Nationalist Party). There was a time in Canton when the party required all the qualified teachers of the elementary schools in the city to be members of the Party.* This was, however, too

* See Current Educational Regulations and Laws of the Central Government and Provincial Government of Kwangtung, pp. 253-255. (In Chinese).

rigid to be enforced. Also, the teachers of San-Min-Chu-I (The Three Principles), a required study in all levels of the school, must comply with the regulations set up by the Party before they receive their certificates. The teachers in the elementary schools and secondary schools must pass an examination for that level of the school on their knowledge of the Party principles and literature; the teachers of The Three Principles in the colleges and universities, instead of passing certain examinations, must submit their publications on the Party's principles and their proposed outlines for teaching the course. In all cases the applicant must be a member of the Kuo-Min-Tang.‡

‡ The "Regulations for the Certification of Teachers of Party Principles" were promulgated by the Ministry of Education in December, 1928. The "Notice for the Applicants for Certification as Teachers of Party Principles in Colleges and Technical Schools" was promulgated by the Ministry in January, 1929. (Ibid., pp. 245-248).

Judging from the nationalized system of normal schools, the State support of normal school students and the pension system for teachers, and the centralized authority in the regulations for the certification of teachers, it looks as if the spirit of national control and national unity is implied. Whatever the outward appearance implies, in actual practice the atmosphere of rigidity, uniformity, discipline, standardization, or even that of careful planning and coordination is lacking. This is seen in the laxity in the enforcement of regulations, in the variety of normal schools, and in the absence of leadership to mould the normal schools into a unique system. It is seen also in the lack of planning of the number to be trained in

regard to the supply and demand, the number of schools to be maintained and opened, the number of vacancies anticipated, the number of graduates which the normal schools are turning out, etc.* As a result, many graduates from normal schools

* France controls the number of normal school students to be trained in her schools. "The enrolment varies from year to year and is fixed by the Minister as needs demand." (Educational Yearbook, 1927, p. 504). In the United States, where a program for a comprehensive control of the number of teachers to be trained does not exist, there has been developed within their system of "institutional autonomy" and under the existing social conditions, institutional guidance for those who attempt to enter the profession. The information given by the Maryland State Normal School at Towson as seen in its catalogue is an illustration of this line of approach to the problem. In its opening section, the latest statistical information is given regarding the salaries and the demand and supply of teachers in that State, under the topics "Status of the Profession in Maryland" and "Opportunities within the State." (The Maryland State Normal School at Towson, Announcement, 1930-1931, pp. 14-15.)

are thrown out of work while many non-graduates of normal schools are filling the posts in the schools. The situation is the more deplorable since there are no statistical reports to help the individuals seek their own salvation and since opportunities for the intellectual class in China to make a living are so limited. However, the explanation for this chaos lies in the political situation rather than in the educational policy.

NATIONAL CULTURE AND TEACHERS AND TEACHER TRAINING

No one would question the important function of the teacher in the transmission of national culture. But when the modern teacher has to learn a large variety of new subjects, when the teaching methods are constantly undergoing changes, when the acquisition of the linguistic tool for keeping pace with foreign literature in education takes such a long time, and when the new knowledge rather than the old is in popular demand, it is obvious that the teacher's task of transmitting the national culture is a difficult one.

In the regulations of 1903, Chinese cultural subjects were given a very important place in normal training. According to the principles of normal education as specified then, the function of lower normal school education was to preserve and to promulgate the ideals of Chinese culture as exemplified by Confucius and Mencius.* Chinese Classics, besides Chinese

* Yu Chia-Chue, Normal Education, p. 87. Chung Hua Book Co., Shanghai, 1920. (In Chinese).

Ethics and Chinese Literature, were required all through the lower and higher normal schools. In the five years of lower normal education, totalling 180 hours, 45 hours or one-fourth were set aside for the study of Chinese Classics; this was

superseded only by pedagogy, which had 47 hours.‡ In the four years of higher normal training, even for those who were majoring in mathematics and science, Chinese Classics was required in all years. Since the establishment of the Republic and the abolition of Classics from the elementary school, Chinese Classics is not provided for in the normal school curriculum. In the (lower) normal school, Chinese literature—a subject also in the old curriculum—has only 24 hours out of 170 hours or one-seventh of the total.* In the higher normal curriculum, for those majoring in mathematics or science, neither Chinese Classics nor Chinese literature is provided.‡ According to the new curriculum promulgated in 1925 as a result of the new school system adopted in 1922, the normal schools give thirty-six hours out of 180, one-fifth of the total, to the study of the national language, but with the specification that attention be given also to children's literature. From the development of the normal school curriculum, one can see that the teachers are less equipped now as transmitters of national culture than they were.

‡ Ibid., pp. 82-85.

* Li Chi-Yen, Training of Teachers in Various Countries, pp. 324-327. Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1927. (In Chinese).

‡ Ibid., pp. 315-318.

At present, in the schools there are still some old Chinese scholars holding positions chiefly as teachers of Chinese literature and other Chinese subjects. But it is beyond doubt that their number is daily decreasing. According to a study made in 1925, of the 1,522 middle school teachers, 287 or 18.85 per cent. of them were holders of degrees from the old government civil service examination which was abolished in 1905.* What the modern normal schools can do to perpetuate the national culture cannot be looked upon very favorably. The almost complete disappearance of essays by High School students which treat on Chinese Classical and historical subjects is partly explained by these new type of teachers of Chinese.‡

* Meng Hsien-Cheng, "A Survey of the Middle School Teachers in China," Educational Review, Vol. XVII, No. 7. (In Chinese).

‡ Yuan Chan, A Study of the Topics of the Middle School Essays, p. 284. Min Chi Book Company, Shanghai, 1930. (In Chinese).

Commenting on the function of the teacher in the transmission of national culture, a writer has sorrowfully pointed out: "There are many normal school students today who can not write the Chinese language easily and correctly. . . . To hope that they can enlighten and cultivate the national character (among the pupils) is like climbing up a tree in search for fish."§

§ Yu Chia-Chue, Normal Education, p. 102. Chung Hua Book Company, Shanghai, 1920. (In Chinese).

As to the returned students' influence upon national culture, that phase has been touched upon in the preceding chapter. But more significant than their influence as teachers is their influence in the policies and in the work of teacher training. Normal education in the earlier period was in the hands of the returned students from Japan; that of the recent years is in the hands of the returned students from America. The former placed more emphasis on contents, the latter on methods. It is generally agreed that the returned students from Japan in the early days had a good foundation in Chinese learning. It is doubtful whether the same thing can be said of the recent returned students from America.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND TEACHERS

The question of foreigners' maintaining schools in China belongs to the following chapter on private schools; that of foreigners as teachers and of normal schools maintained by them is briefly dealt with here.

The employment of foreigners in the public school system began as early as modern education in China itself.* Many normal schools in the earlier days of their establishment employed Western and Japanese teachers.‡ Their importance has decreased in proportion to the increase of returned students, but there is still need for them in technical fields, especially in technology and medicine. Partly because of the need for them and partly because of a very friendly relationship that has been maintained with these foreign instructors and professors, there has never been any strong move on the part of the Chinese to deprive the foreigner of the right to teach. While no provision has been made to give the foreigner the status of certified teachers, no regulation discriminating against him has yet been legislated. In China today there are many Chinese youth, including the children in the elementary schools, who are under the instruction of foreigners—Japanese, Americans, British, French, German, etc. Such freedom is seldom enjoyed by foreigners in sovereign states.*

* Dr. John Fryer writing in 1897 said: "All over China efforts are now being made by the higher officials to establish schools and colleges for Western learning. The right sort of native directors for such establishments seem to be more needed than funds. English and Americans are freely employed as presidents and professors." (Quoted in H. S. Galt, "Oriental and Occidental Elements in China's Modern Educational System," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, 1928, p. 633.)

‡ See Shu, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China. Vol. II, p. 9. (In Chinese).

* In France no foreigner can be a teacher in the elementary school without the authorization of the Ministry or the recommendation of the Council of the Department where the School is to be located. (I. L. Kandel, French Elementary Schools, p. 15. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926). In the United

States, citizenship is a requirement to become teachers in some states. In the State of Nebraska the law is that only citizens may teach in the public or private schools. Not only is nationality often a legal restrictive factor, but race is also. American citizens of the unapproved race—yellow or black—are further restrictions, often unwritten, for teaching positions.

In China quite a number of normal schools are conducted by foreigners. Although these normal schools are to provide for teachers for the mission school system and their total enrolment is not at all alarming, their existence molests, in some degree, the sovereignty of the nation. According to the available statistics, 48 normal schools are maintained by the Protestant mission, with an enrolment of 612 students;* and

* Christian Education in China, A Study Made by the Educational Commission Representing the Mission Board and Societies Conducting Work in China, p. 416 and p. 16. New York, 1922.

sixteen normal schools by the Catholic mission with an equal enrolment. The Japanese in Manchuria also maintain a normal school for the Chinese with an enrolment of 216 students.§

§ Report on Progress in Manchuria 1907-1928, p. 157, South Manchuria Railway, Dairen, March, 1929.

A SUMMARY

In this brief study of the problem of teachers, we have tried to point out the important position which the teacher used to enjoy in Chinese schools as well as in Chinese society. We have also shown that there is a close relation between the student political movements and the influence of the teachers. The vigorous effort to train teachers by sending students abroad and by establishing normal schools during the early years of the modern school system shows the desperate spirit of the Tsing Dynasty to bring about national power by means of universal education. But such efforts have not been duplicated since then. National unity in school education is enabled by the national control of normal training, normal school curriculum, the state support of students in normal training, and the certification of teachers. But the amount of control that exists today is much less than the frame-work implies.

In regard to the question of national culture, while efforts have been made to emphasize Chinese studies so that the teachers in training will be qualified transmitters of the native culture, the results are that the Chinese teachers are every day less equipped to carry on that mission. In regard to the question of national sovereignty and teachers, we have noticed that the employment of foreign teachers in Chinese schools for higher learning has been a practice since the establishment of modern education in China. But the teaching of Chinese children by foreigners and the establishment of normal schools by foreigners are looked upon as facts that remain to worry the Chinese mind.

CHAPTER VII

NATIONALISM AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Some writers classify schools in China under three types: the private schools, the public schools, and the government schools. But the term "private school," as used here denotes that type of school which falls outside the category of government schools, or any school which is non-governmental.

In the category of private schools there are still many varieties Perhaps they can be presented most clearly in an outline form:

Major types of private schools in China:
- Old type Chinese classics schools—the "Ssu Shu."
- Modern schools maintained by the Chinese:
  - By private individuals.
  - By families, villages, communities or organizations.
- Modern schools maintained by foreigners:
  - For the Chinese:
    - By the missionaries:
      - By Protestant missions.
      - By Catholic missions.
    - By non-missionaries:
      - By Germans.
      - By British.
      - By Japanese.
      - Etc.
  - For foreigners:
    - For children.
    - For adults (e.g. language schools).

Looking over the varieties in the category of private schools, one has a better comprehension of the scope of the term. Obviously it would be a mistake to identify Protestant missionary education with private education or to conceive of the regulation for registration of private schools as singularly devised to attack the mission schools, however outstanding mission education may be in the field of private education. Although private schools maintained by Chinese efforts and those maintained by foreign efforts might well be discussed separately, for convenience and for the general purpose, we shall discuss them together in this study.

As a matter of fact, the national system of education in China prior to the adoption of the Western school system was built almost entirely on private schools. All the elementary schools, which we called Chinese Classics Schools (Ssu Shu) or literally "private schools," were private. Outside of those wealthy enough to have tutors at home, all the boys who were fortunate enough to receive a school education received it in the "private schools."* On top of this system of private schools rested the upper schools, whether they were of private enterprise or governmental support, and the civil examination system. As a writer observed: "The institutional organization of Chinese education is twofold: there is, first, a system of schools, almost entirely of private character and devoted to the mastery of the language and sacred literature and to the development of this power of essay writing, and second, a system of examinations conducted by the state and serving as the controlling part of their educational system."‡

That system of schools enjoyed its unregulated freedom until shortly after the introduction of the modern schools.*

Of course, it is incorrect to say that the private schools enjoyed unmolested freedom because the curriculum and methods were of one pattern, the teachers were all scholars of the classics and nothing but the classics, and the public, knowing quite definitely what they were to expect from the schools, brought pressure on the teacher in a subversive way. But, so far as governmental regulation was concerned, private education in China prior to 1910 enjoyed freedom like that which is claimed as pertinent to the Anglo-Saxon educational tradition.

After the adoption of the modern school system in China, Chinese private enterprise entered into the establishment of modern schools. Some were established by the localities, some by philanthropic, social, and religious organizations, and some by private individuals for educational interest, for profit, or for other motives. Not uncommonly the family—clans—converted their old type classic schools into modern schools and the localities and philanthropic, social, or religious organizations used their public halls and temples for modern schools.

* There were four kinds of "private schools": a. those maintained by the public fund of the locality with tuition free; b. those maintained by a family or clan for their own children; c. those maintained by a home or several homes jointly; and, d. those maintained by the teachers with tuition charges for each pupil. (See Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, p. 1093. Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930. In Chinese)

‡ Paul Monroe, A Textbook in the History of Education, p. 32. Macmillan Co., New York, 1926.

* The first decree was issued in 1910, trying to improve the "private schools" to fit into the modern school system. (Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, p. 1093.)

The private schools endorsed and supported by wealthy people, officials, or prominent leaders are also numerous. For example, Nankai University in Tientsin, Fu Tan University, and Kwang Hua University in Shanghai, Amoy University in Amoy, and the Feng Yung University in Mukden are private universities.

The number of private schools, according to the statistics available at the time of writing, is 37,303, with an enrolment of 1,044,824 students. This is about one fourth of the number of government schools, which is 129,639, with 4,294,251 students. As compared with the missionary schools, which are 13,637 in number (7,382 Protestant and 6,255 Catholic) with an enrolment of 358,598 (214,254 in Protestant schools and 144,344 in Catholic Schools.)*

* Figures obtained from the Report on Christian Education in China, A Study made by the Educational Commission Representing the Mission Boards and Societies Conducting Work in China, New York, 1922, pp. 25-31 and also Tables II and III of the Appendix.

There are three times as many Chinese private schools as there are missionary schools. While many Chinese private schools are highly esteemed by the public for their genuine educational cause, others, run for profit, are looked upon with contempt.

The missionary schools, though small in number as compared to the Chinese private schools and governmental schools, have held a very significant position in China.‡ They

‡ "Many of the prominent young leaders in government and public life in China were products of these Christian schools, and it was not uncommon for scholars and officials of high rank to select Christian schools for the education of their own sons on account of the excellent discipline and good character of these institutions. Such conditions indicate that the influence on Chinese public education of these Christian schools was in excess of their numerical strength." H.S. Galt, "Oriental and Occidental Elements in China's Modern Educational System," The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Peiping, 1929, p. 17.

represent the earliest effort to introduce Western schools to China. According to many writers, the first Christian school (Protestant) was established in Macao by Dr. R. S. Brown in 1839.§.†. From schools intended for the training of Chinese

§ Christian Education in China, op. cit., p. 22.
† The Protestant schools will be the center of discussion on mission schools, though Catholic schools are sometimes also referred to.

preachers, they became schools for the children of the adherents and later also for children of native faiths. As time went by these schools grew in number, in size, in level, and territorial expansion. While their growth, progress, immunity from political disturbances, and adequacy of financial support were envied, their unfavorable influences among the Chinese from the standpoint of Nationalism and freedom of thought, when brought

out into the open, caused alarm in many quarters. Their influence brought forward the movement for the recovery of educational rights and increased the registration of all private schools. While the private school is attacked for its private character and its segregational tendency as being undesirable for a nation which strives for democracy and national solidarity, the mission schools are further attacked for their religious character as educationally unsound, their foreign control as undesirable, their foreign cultural influence as unwholesome, and their separate system of organization as dangerous.

Besides the missionary schools, there are still other schools maintained by foreigners which have no religious intent. Most notable among them are the Japanese schools in the Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria) where there are 374 schools*

* Of the 374 schools, 311 are for Chinese exclusively and the remaining for Japanese and Chinese both. Besides, there are 110 schools that are exclusively for the Japanese. (See Shu Hsin-Cheng, The Movement for the Recovery of Educational Rights, p. 49, Chung Hwa Book Company, Shanghai, 1927.—In Chinese.)

According to a later report by the Japanese, there are 152 schools for the Chinese, enrolling 31,512 Chinese, besides 67 schools with 34,279 Japanese students, and two universities with 756 Japanese and Chinese students, all conducted by the Japanese with Japanese money. (See Report on Progress in Manchuria 1907-1928, The South Manchuria Railway, Dairen, March, 1929, pp. 155-159.)

It is not, however the exact figures that we are after, but the general picture of the situation.

with an enrolment of 24,021 Chinese children, and those in the Province of Shantung. The schools in the Three Eastern Provinces were established after the Japanese obtained privileges from the Russians in Southern Manchuria in 1905; those in Shantung were established after they obtained Tsing-tao from Germany in 1914.

These Japanese schools were attacked as agencies of assimilation and cultural imperialism. In the opinion of the Chinese, in the battle for the Recovery of Educational Rights, the first shot should be fired at them. Other schools, also of non-religious character, were established by the Russians, the Germans, the French, the British, etc., some for commercial reasons, some for profit. Often their function was the training of youth in a commercial knowledge in their particular language, and thus supply office clerks and interpreters for their business firms. Frequently foreigners who were in business and taught part time were on the teaching staff.

Heretofore the major types of schools under the category of private schools have been presented. As the missionary schools and the Japanese schools are more distinctly problems of private education in a national system of education, they will duly share a larger proportion in the discussion to follow.

NATIONAL UNITY AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Uniformity of training, if congenial to the culture of a people, is undoubtedly a strong guarantee of national unity and the perpetuation of a nationality. When private education conforms to the traditions of the national pattern or when it does not cherish a separate set of ideals, no problem arises from the standpoint of national unity. But when it departs from the ideals of national welfare to the extent that it begins to threaten the continuity of a national unit, as seemed to be the case in China in recent years, the problem emerges.

In the interest of national homogeneity, private schools in China possess the character of aristocracy. While educational opportunity in China in general, at the present time, is already limited to the relatively more privileged, an educational opportunity in a private school is further limited to the specially privileged. The higher fees they charge and their many subtle social requirements make them patronized by the well-to-do, the officials, the prominent, and the "enlightened." Being, relatively speaking, immune from financial disruption and political disturbances, they at once become a peaceful and thus a better place of learning for the children of the privileged class. While the formation of a stable government in China is still in its process, a situation that increases the gap between the educational and social status of those who enter the private schools and those who can not afford to do so and have to be content with governmental schools is presented. With a type of school to which their children can go, the leaders of the country in politics, in business, and in public affairs, can better tolerate the deplorable conditions existing in public education, with which the less privileged have to be content. This situation also explains why students from private schools are leaders in the national affairs of the nation in far greater number than their total enrolment seems to call for.

It is unfortunate that especially among the institutions of higher education a different social status is accredited to those from private and to those from public schools. When the opportunity for the development of talents is conditioned to a serious extent by one's social status, the co-existence of the systems of public and private education tends to segregate the rich from the poor, the privileged from the unprivileged, and the interest of a class from the interest of the masses, which may make seriously for national disunity. What is true of the private school system in general in this aspect of the problem of unity is more true of the missionary school system. The connotation "private" brings a different reaction to those who share its privacy and those who do not. For example, those who have access to a private garden are in favor of the private institution, but those who have not, if their

consciousness is aroused, are antagonistic. What is true of the people's attitude toward a private garden is equally true of the people's attitude toward private schools, especially when the private schools have reached such a stage of significance.

In the schools conducted by foreigners, or partly helped by them, there is the danger that those who enter them will, in turn, acquire an undue feeling of attachment to the patronizing country. Those who attend German schools are apt to be pro-German, Japanese schools, pro-Japan, British schools, pro-British, French schools, pro-France, and American schools, pro-America.* Granted that the foreign schools are

* This is a common criticism from those who stand by the movement for the Recovery of Educational Rights. As R. Y. Lo has pointed out: "The educational work done by foreigners in China looks like charity, but it is really in effect a form of colonization. Students who have received their education from Japanese, British, Americans, French, or Germans will learn to love those nations and so will lose the spirit of national independence." Ren-Yen Lo, China's Revolution from the Inside, p. 102. (The Abingdon Press, New York, 1930.)

maintained with the best of intentions, it is simply natural that these foreigners train the Chinese youth according to their ideals, their interpretations of facts and history, and from their point of view; it is also natural that the Chinese youth, in turn, through a constant exposure to a certain point of view, assimilate it as their own. Not infrequently the Chinese student interprets the Opium War and the Boxer unprising in the same way that the British, the missionary, and the foreigner would interpret it, and knows more of the history of the foreign country to which his school authorities belong than of the history of China. While this problem as a process of denationalism belongs to a later section on national culture and private schools, here we are illustrating its effect in the dissolution of a unified outlook on international affairs through the dispersion of loyalties in the population to foreign nations.

In the schools maintained by religious groups, there is the additional probability that those who patronize the schools of various faiths will in time become attached to that faith. From the standpoint of the freedom of religious belief and the responsibility of religious nurture which parents have for their children, religious sects of whatever minority may have the right to educate their children likewise, just as schools of various faiths are tolerated in America and England or just as the Confucian classics were taught in schools in China for twenty centuries. But, from the standpoint of national unity, the exercise of that freedom, combined with that responsibility at the time when a coordinating religion is needed, will naturally result in splitting the population according to their religious faiths. The students of Confucian schools, students of Buddhist schools, and students of Mohammedan schools, and students of

Christian schools will create new religious barriers among themselves. Among the Christian schools there are additional barriers between Catholics and Protestants, and among the Protestants between Episcopals, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, etc. Being aware of the religious intolerance of Mohammedanism and Christianity, of the handicap of religious and denominational barriers existing in the Western nations today, and of the fortune of being a nation with no religious groups hostile to each other, the development of private schools under religious lines may endanger the national unity that already exists.

Among the Christian schools of the Protestant faith, a highly organized national system of education has been developed which finds no parallel in the private schools of non-Christian character. At the top of their system is the China Christian Educational Association. "It is organized into a group of councils for higher education, secondary education, and religious education. The membership of the council of higher education represents the group of colleges and universities."*

* See E. H. Cressy, "Christian Education in China," China Year Book, 1930, p. 537. The Tientsin Press, Ltd., Tientsin.

The council of secondary and religious education is based upon the regional associations, which cooperate with the central body. The Council of Religious Education is composed of those specially qualified. In the field of higher education it is divided into five districts—the Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western, and Central. The country is also divided into eleven regions, each with a Christian Educational Association of its own, with memberships, officers, annual conferences, committees, full-time paid executive secretaries or part time executives. The national system has its official organs of speech, the chief of which are the Educational Review in English and the Christian Educational Quarterly in Chinese, both of a high quality. There are regional and national conferences in which they discuss their common problems, exchange their experiences, and make their resolutions for the guidance of the Christian Educational work throughout the country. Also, they have their own educational leaders who advise the schools of various levels.

The system proposes a curriculum of its own, sets up its own standards, and publishes numerous literature—textbooks, teachers' guides, and various material to keep those in the system well informed of educational development within the system, outside the system, and in the educational world in general. It is self-sufficient in itself, with a complete system of schools from the kindergarten to the university, with normal schools, educational departments, and summer schools for teachers in service. It even has a national anthem and a

separate joint alumni association for the graduates from its colleges and universities. The seclusive character of the system has been criticized by its own leader as under the "Monroe Doctrine."*

* The Christian Educational Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 3. (In Chinese.)

To be fair, it must be said that the national or sectional system of Christian education carries no authority over the individual schools other than that of advisory power. The individual schools still obtain their authority from their own constituency. However, it is obvious that there is a highly organized system of integrated character outside the Chinese national system of education, which is regarded suspiciously by the Chinese public. Perhaps the fear is not unjustified, as, without regulation, education in China may become as many-tracked as there are schools of varying interests. The unfortunate aspect of missionary education is that it often fits in better with the educational systems of the missionaries' homelands than with the Chinese system.

NATIONAL CULTURE AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The private schools are not all alike in their bearings upon the problem of national culture. During this period of transition, the "private schools" of the classics, maintained and taught by the literati trained in the old order who yet remain, are still agencies of the old culture as embodied in the Chinese literature and classics. Although attempts have been made to regulate the "Ssu Shu," especially in the cities,‡ by requiring

‡ See the provisional regulations regarding the improvement and Censorship of the Ssu Shu, "private schools," promulgated by the Municipal Educational Bureau of Canton. (In Current Educational Laws and Regulations of the National Government and the Kwangtung Provincial Government, pp. 314-318, 137-140. Sun Yat-Sen National University, Canton, 1929.—In Chinese.)

them to include modern subjects in the curriculum, new methods of teaching and discipline, new standards of hygiene and school equipment, the old traditions are strong, and neither enforcement of regulations nor the supervision of these schools is effective. Thus these schools continue to foster, in rapidly decreasing effectiveness to be sure, the old national culture which for ages united and characterized the Chinese people.

There exists practically no distinction in the matter of national culture between government education and private education of entirely Chinese efforts. As schools conducted by the Chinese, the native culture should suffer no consequential neglect. But as modern schools they are both subject to the denationalizing process pertinent to the adoption of the modern curriculum as described in an earlier chapter. However, the private schools maintained by the missionaries and by the

Japanese have often been accused of being agencies of cultural imperialism, destroying the nationality of the Chinese and converting them into submissive subjects of the imperialistic Powers. To those who share such a general view, exceptions must be made in respect to the many leaders in the nationalist movements in China whom the mission schools have helped to produce.

The emphasis in the schools on the Western, Christian culture at the expense of the Chinese culture is a very natural outcome of the missionary movement. In the first place, the missionary movement itself is the product of an assumption and, in fact, a zealous expression of a belief that they have, at least in respect to religion, a superior culture, which others should share. The sense of superiority in culture makes it difficult for them to feel the need for the respect of Chinese culture. In the second place, the mission schools until recent years have been primarily institutions for evangelization. The earliest schools were established for the training of native preachers.* Later

* "Christian schools were at first established not by professional educators and not for the promotion of education for education's sake, but as an adjunct and aid to evangelism." (Christian education in China, p. 22.)

more schools were opened for the education of the children of the faith. As these schools grew the children outside the Christian fold were also received. The function of the schools in the eyes of the missions was chiefly one of evangelization.†,‡

† "The School as an Evangelizing Agency" by Lowry Davis, Educational Review, Vol. VII, No. 2, Shanghai, April, 1915.

‡ E.g. Shantung Christian University has this statement of purpose: "The main purpose of the university is 'the advancement of the kingdom of God through higher education of a distinctly Christian character, with a view of developing a capable and consecrated leadership for the Christian Church and community in China.'" (Handbook of Christian Colleges and Universities by China Christian Association, Shanghai, 1926, Bulletin No. 14, p. 15.)

It was only in recent years that education in itself was looked upon as a worthy cause in itself, as Professor Monroe suggested ten years ago.§ In the third place, the qualification

§ "Mission Education merely as education, even aside from its Christian motivation has much to contribute to these retarded and recently emerged cultures." (See Paul Monroe, Mission Education and National Policy, Essays on Comparative Education, p. 205. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927.)

and training of the school authorities and the predominating staff make it natural that the devotion to the Western and Christian culture outbalances that to the Chinese culture. The institutions of higher learning are an illustration. Of the 13 mission colleges and universities in the China Association for Christian higher education, nine of their presidents or 70 per

cent. in 1926 were men with the degrees of B.D., D.D., or S.T.D.*

* See Handbook of Christian Colleges and Universities, Shanghai, 1926, pp. 23-24.

In so far as their theological preparation or interest correlates with the tendencies of their educational policies, one may expect a stronger emphasis on the Christian culture.

Mission Education has, therefore, at least till recently been left in the hands of the foreign clergy. According to the observation of the Educational Commission, representing the mission boards and societies conducting work in China, "Most of the foreign school administrators came to the mission field without specific training for school administration. The Boards at home have failed adequately to realize that the development of the educational phases of mission work have made it impossible to carry on the Christian educational mission by men and women, who, while they are excellently trained ministers and social workers, are not at all experts in education."‡ Some

‡ Christian Education in China, pp. 139 and 157.

Chinese ask why education in China should be in the hands of the clergy when education in the Western countries is being taken out of their hands.

Looking at their qualifications and training from a negative aspect, most of the participators in the mission schools, from the directors of the mission boards to the classroom teachers, have only superficial knowledge of Chinese culture, if any. Of course, some missionaries, men like Legge and Williams, are noted for their profound understanding of Chinese culture, but such have been very few, especially in the last three decades. For example, many of the missionaries in China possess no more knowledge of the Chinese language than that necessary for daily and Biblical usage. Few read the Chinese newspapers and equally few browse among the treasures of the old learning. Their Chinese colleagues on the staff are not much better off, because their selection on the basis of Christian knowledge and Christian character naturally eliminates men who would otherwise have been more qualified.* Furthermore, the

* T. T. Lew, "Christian Education in China," pp. 6-7, Education in China, Society for the Study of International Education, Peking, 1923.

missionary school teachers and administrators, especially of the lower levels of the schools, do not differentiate much between the essence of the Christian religion and by-products of the Western physical environment. To some, the drinking of plain water is more Christian than the drinking of tea and the use of knife and fork a higher cultural attainment than the use of chop-sticks. The writer is not at all critical of the individual missionaries for their over-cultivation of the Western culture

in the schools, because, as individuals, conditioned by their exertive disposition and primarily religious rather than intellectual inclination, many of them are certainly doing their best for the Chinese youth, from their point of view. If criticism has to be laid on some party, perhaps those who are responsible for the missionary policies and movements should be addressed.

It is only natural that the mission schools quite considerably neglect the old national culture for the new incoming one. It is a common criticism that the students from the mission schools are in general deficient in their knowledge of the Chinese language. T. T. Lew, president of the Chinese Christian Educational Association, has also pointed out: "There is a general criticism against Christian missionary schools for their failure to give the best instruction in Chinese. The graduates of mission schools have often found it difficult to get on with their work in society because of the lack of proper training in the Chinese literary language."* One of the chief causes for this

* Ibid., p. 7.

failure is that the missionary schools are better prepared to give a good training in English than to judge the achievements of their students in the use of the Chinese language. In the mission schools of the middle school level, many subjects are taught with English as the medium of instruction. In some schools, the students' knowledge of Chinese does not enter into consideration in their graduation. For example, many of the graduates from St. John's University, for decades the most famous missionary university in China, were still taking elementary school Chinese at the time they received their college degrees.

Closely related to the neglect of the Chinese language is the devotion to Western history, Western geography and Western religion. In place of Chinese literature and classics, Shakespeare, the Psalms, and the Old and New Testaments are studied. In place of Chinese festivals, the Western festivals are celebrated; in place of Chinese music, the appreciation of Western music is acquired; in place of exalting the social institution of the family, the individual is exalted. In other words, in place of Confucius, Jesus is put.* The teaching of the (Christian)

* What the Protestant observes of the Catholic may be taken as what the Chinese observe of the Christians in general. "The Catholics," wrote Dr. Edkins, in 1858, "have not a few well-conducted schools in China. At Seu-Kia-Wei many of the pupils are taught the art of moulding images in clay, sculptures, etc. It caused us some painful reflections to see them forming images of Joseph and Mary and other Scripture personages, in the same way that idol makers in the neighboring towns were moulding Buddhas and Gods of War and Riches, destined too to be honored in much the same manner." (Quotation taken from Catholic Church in China from 1860 to 1907 by Bertram Wolferstan, pp. 382-383. Published by B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., 1909.)

Church San Tsu Ching‡ in the grades in place of the Chinese

‡ The Church San Tsu Ching is an innovation. It tries to convey the ideas of the Christian religion to children in rhyme. The following is an approximate translation of its opening verse:

"God in Heaven,
One is He,
Great in mercy,
Great in love;
He is one,
And most High;
He is omniscient;
He is omnipotent."

San Tsu Ching, "The Trimetrical Classics,"§ is illustrative of this point. As a writer has said: "The popular San Tsu Ching

§ The San Tsu Ching was one of the three books the children read in the old Chinese schools. After the adoption of modern education, those books were abolished from the curriculum. It begins with these lines:

"Men at their birth are by nature radically good:
Though alike in this, in practice they widely diverge.
If not educated, the natural character changes its course
A course of education is made valuable by close attention."

(Based upon Williams' translation in Paul Monroe, A Textbook in the History of Education, p. 29. Macmillan Company, 1926.)

of the former days, though uneducational from the standpoint of child psychology, still served the purpose of furnishing the students with a knowledge of the Chinese History and material for personal culture. Though the presentation of abstract principle was too advanced, it was capable of including the Confucian philosophy. But the (Christian) Church San Tsu Ching not only fails to mention the great developments in Chinese History and the achievements of sages and saints but also fails (*to give a correct picture of the Christian religion and of God.*) ... Although the teaching of the (Chinese) San Tsu Ching to the children has only the defect of poor pedagogy still it was ruled out by educational ordinances, while the Church San Tsu Ching is clearly recognized by the mission educational organizations as an 'Improved Reader'* for mission primary schools."‡

* "In the editorial remarks of that book the first item states: The language of their book is simple, the sentences are short and well arranged. It fits very well into the standard of the children of the second grade, serving as a substitute for the 'Self-cultivation Textbooks.' On its back cover is this advertising statement: 'Notice to the teachers of the mission elementary schools: The Union in Kwangtung Province has approved the following books as Improved New Readers for Church Primary Schools; the Normal School Association of the Provinces of Chikiang and Kiangsu has accepted the following list as Selected New Readers for Church Primary Schools.' The first in the list was the Church San Tsu Ching." Shu Hsin-Cheng, The movement for the Recovery of Educational Rights, pp. 23-24. Chung Hua Book Co., Shanghai, 1927. (In Chinese.)

‡ Ibid., pp. 21-24.

With exposure to foreign culture from childhood to youth, there is little doubt that the mission school students have acquired a missionary conception of culture, looking upon their native culture as heathen, as the missionaries regard it. The standing of missionary education in national culture may be summarized by Professor Monroe's observations: "The Mission schools frequently fly a foreign flag, though usually with the Chinese; use a foreign language largely; teach a foreign history; and without realizing that they are so doing, represent a foreign political culture. . . . There is no doubt that these students of mission schools have been more or less isolated from cultural conditions and, until recently, from current Chinese Movements, in thought."*

* Paul Monroe, China: A Nation in Evolution, p. 306. Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

While the good intentions of the missionary educators have not been seriously doubted, those of the Japanese colonial educators are always looked upon with suspicion. The schools maintained by the Japanese in Manchuria are believed to be for the cultivation of good will and the training of submissive natives for Japanese interests. In the schools for the Chinese, as a writer pointed out, "The Japanese language is specially emphasized. No Chinese history or geography is taught. They train the children to conform to Japanese customs and traditions; to know the existence of the Japanese Empire and the Tsing Empire and not the Republic of China."*

* China Yearbook, Vol. I, 1924, pp. 1925-1926. Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1925. (In Chinese).

While other people may not know what colonial education means, the Chinese certainly do. They have over nine million nationals overseas, a large number of whom are in the colonies of the various Powers. While they receive a denationalizing education because of the colonial policy of the Imperialistic government under whose jurisdiction they fall, they do not want to see a similar kind of education given to their children within the territory of Chinese jurisdiction. They feel it their right and duty to denounce the type of education which in so many respects bears resemblances to colonial education, would much rather follow the educational policy of the Nationalist Party than have "educational co-operation" with Japan.‡

‡ A Japanese writer, Masamichi Royama, evidently prefers the latter when he said: "In any country, so long as education cannot be freed entirely from the political or propaganda motive, such collision or non-cooperation is perhaps inevitable. The use of the textbooks in the Three Eastern Provinces in which the principles and platforms of the Nationalist Party are inserted may cause fresh difficulty in educational cooperation between Japan and China." ("Japan's Position in Manchuria," Problems of the Pacific, 1929, p. 589. University of Chicago Press, 1930.)

When the Chinese people are conscious of the danger of the National position and are aware of this process of cultural denationalization among their flowering youth, the situation of the private schools maintained by foreigners at once appears alarming. Learning that the visitation of such foreign aggression is due to China's financial and cultural poverty, the Chinese are the more desperate in their attempt to undo the humiliation. However, the interpretation of the significance of the cultural denationalization can not be made very well at the present time, as we are too close to the situation; it can only be fairly made in the years to come.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The problem of national sovereignty does not arise in the private schools under the auspices of the Chinese, because they never question the right of the government to control, to regulate and to supervise them. The problem becomes acute, however, in regard to the private schools maintained by foreigners, principally the mission schools and the Japanese schools.

Whereas the Chinese have questioned the effect of mission education upon national culture for a long time, they have not questioned mission education from the standpoint of national sovereignty until recently. The legality of the establishment of mission schools in China was not raised either by the Chinese or by the missionary.* The right to establish schools for the

* C. K. Wu, The International Aspect of the Missionary Movement in China, p. 56. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1930.

education of the Chinese was never provided for in the treaties. The closest approximation to it was the right to preach and the right to open schools, implying schools for the foreigners in China. That point has been brought out by C. K. Wu in his discussion on the Right of Mission Education.* Technically

* Ibid., p. 56-65.

speaking, the right of education has not been lost to the foreign nationals. But, practically speaking, inasmuch as the foreigners do maintain schools in China, holding aloof from Chinese jurisdiction, the right of education has been openly intruded upon.

When there was no question of the problem of national sovereignty and mission schools, neither the Chinese nor the missionaries were conscious of a right being lost or gained. But a struggle began when attention was attracted to the significance of mission education in China partly by the movement of the Christians called "China to Christ" for the evangelization of the Chinese, partly by the general distrust of foreigners in China, and partly by the movement for the recovery of com-

plete national sovereignty. The growing signs of a more organized system of Christian education as revealed in 1922 by the Report on Christian Education in China was another cause arousing attention.‡ The three main objections of the

‡ "The Chinese version of this report made the findings and recommendation of the Commission known to a large number of Chinese educators. In the report the Commission had much to say about the unification and systematization of Christian educational work in China. The proposal that the Christian agencies should organize a system of Christian schools was interpreted by some of the Chinese educators as a move to set up a system of education in China in competition with China's national system." (H. S. Galt, "Oriental and Occidental Elements in the Modern Educational System in China," Chinese Social and Political Science Review, 1929, p. 23.)

Chinese to the mission schools were: first, that they were a form of foreign imposition; second, that they were under foreign domination and control; and third, that they did not respect Chinese authority.

At times of political disorder, the mission school compound was often protected by its hoisted foreign flag, which was looked upon as a kind of foreign concession under foreign jurisdiction. The Chinese people, in fact, many missionaries as well, consider that mission education was provided for in the treaties as were preaching and extraterritoriality. As the treaties are denounced as unequal and as having been imposed upon China, mission education also is commonly conceived of as an imposition.

Foreign domination and control also worries the Chinese mind. On the staffs, the positions of authority have until recently been held almost exclusively by foreigners. The administration of the school was almost entirely decided by them. As they were controlled by the headquarters "at home,"—in London, Paris, Berlin, New York, Rome, or in whatever city or country the home Board may be seated—it was, indeed, difficult for the Chinese to see how their educational policies could be determined for the Chinese, not for their own national interests. The sense of superiority which the white people assume in China is already deplorable; how much more so when it is strengthened by the subordination of the Chinese scholars* and

* In a study made on seven colleges and universities, "The average salary of the foreign teacher is $3,112.50, that of the Chinese teacher $1,096." Christian Education in China, p. 392.

youth under white tutelage! Unlike Chinese students abroad, who sit with students who are citizens at the feet of the foreign professors, the white population in the mission schools are identified with authority and superiority. This psychological effect upon the Chinese students and upon society in general is

most unfavorable to the self-respect on the part of the Chinese.*

* "Chinese control is, to my mind, as important in the matter of education as in the matter of industry. . . . What does harm is foreign management. Chinese education in mission schools, or in lay establishments controlled by foreigners, tends to become denationalized, and have a slavish attitude toward foreign civilization. . . . And of course their whole influence, unavoidably if involuntarily, militates against national self-respect in those whom they teach." Bertrand Russell, The Problem of China, pp. 262-263. George Allen and Unwin, London, 1922.)

Feeling that they are exempted from Chinese jurisdiction, the mission school authorities have often times refused to comply with the orders of the Chinese authorities. The fact that many schools stood against registration as their first reaction to government registration is an illustration of that attitude. We should notice not only the intrusion upon Chinese sovereignty in those acts, but also the effect they have upon the students. As the youth are prone to side with their own school and teachers, the idea of the superiority of the foreign people and the inferiority of their own government is injected into their minds.

Feeling as the Chinese do, the private schools are being chiefly attacked from the angle of national sovereignty, as shown in the movement for the recovery of the rights of education and the movement for registration, which will be discussed in a later section.

NATIONAL PROSPERITY AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The justifications for private schools in China may generally be grouped into three: first, the right of private enterprise, second, the provision of initiative and experimentation; and third, the necessity for this supplement during the time when the nation so badly needs educational facilities for its youth. It is for the last named reason that private education is endorsed by all social-minded citizens of the country. It is, therefore, because of the lack of national prosperity that private education is tolerated and even encouraged. The private schools have certainly played a large part, both in helping to solve the problem of education when the nation is suffering from poverty and in training leaders for the development of national prosperity. For the same reason, the "private schools," Ssu Shu, though looked upon as institutions more uneducational than not, have been tolerated.

As the mission schools have been treated so unfavorably, as perhaps they rightly deserve, from the standpoints of national unity, national culture, and national sovereignty, and as they are often looked upon most favorably from the standpoint of national prosperity, they will be the center of our discussion here.

The first thing to their credit is that they introduced modern education at a time when the modern school system was not popular and in many areas where Chinese efforts had not reached. By the latter part of the 19th Century many primary schools had already been established in various parts of China, in which the rudiments of arithmetic, science, Western geography and history, and English, etc. were taught. New methods of teaching had also been introduced. Everywhere the missionaries went, they established schools as an adjunct to their church. Inasmuch as their pioneering spirit and religious zeal carried them to all parts of China, to areas even quite impenetrable, they serve as a sort of agency for Western or modern education. As T. T. Lew has remarked: "Christian missionary educators have been in many places and in several distinct ways pioneers in introducing the modern type of education into China. They have even started work in places where no modern education existed before its introduction by the Christian Church."*

* T. T. Lew, "Christian Education in China," Education in China, 1923, pp. 10-11.

Looking at the question from the standpoint of national finance, these mission schools help to educate many Chinese youth who would otherwise be denied an opportunity of education because of the lack of public funds. Although in many of the mission schools, especially those of a higher level, tuition fees are so high as compared with the standards of living in China as to be criticized as aristocratic, the support that comes from the mission sources is much greater than the contributions from tuition and from other Chinese sources. As it is impossible to secure the statistics on the financial status of the whole field of mission education in China,‡ the following

‡ Many mission schools do not keep a book. In some cases they do not take into account the salary of foreign teachers. No effort has been made to gather this information as yet. (See Christian Education in China, pp. 385-386.)

facts will illustrate this point. According to Cressy's study for the year 1925-1926, the annual current expenses of 16 Christian colleges was $1,882,486 (Mex.), which is 18.78 per cent of what the Chinese national and provincial governments spent for higher education in 1928.* The value of the plant and

* The expenditure for higher education in the whole country in 1928 was put at $17,170,410, $10,025,063 of which was contributed by the National and Provincial Governments. (See 1929 Report of the Ministry on Higher Education, Ta Kung Pao, L'Impartial, Daily Newspaper, Tientsin, Aug. 28, 1931.—In Chinese.)

equipment, including land, for 18 Christian institutions of

higher learning is put at $17,154,589 (Mex.)‡ If statistics for

‡ E. H. Cressy, "Christian Higher Education in China," China Christian Educational Association, Bulletin No. 20, Shanghai, 1928, pp. 218-224.

the lower schools were available, one can realize how much larger these two items would be. It is certainly a great relief to the country to have such a large sum invested for the education of its youth, when educational finance has been facing a deadlock.

Looking at the question from another aspect, again the mission schools are worthy of praise because of the leaders they have helped to educate. Many observers have pointed out to us the prominent parts the mission school students have played.§

§ Professor Monroe has remarked: "One has only to be acquainted with the actual existing conditions to realize that many of the trained leaders in the present Nationalist Government, in its government and in its popular support, are products of mission school, or at least of American schools." Paul Monroe, China: A Nation in Evolution, pp. 306-307. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928.

While full information is not available regarding the leaders who have come from the Christian colleges, some data are given in Cressy's interpretation of the national standing of the graduates and students of the Christian colleges listed in the Who's Who in China of 1925. "This volume lists 484 persons, of whom 105 or 21% are graduates of colleges in China. Of these, 76 have graduated from . . . government and private colleges, and 29 have graduated from . . . Christian colleges. Thus of those graduated from colleges in China 27% are from Christian colleges. The number of those who have attended college but without graduation is 52 in the case of government and private colleges, and 50 in the case of Christian colleges."*

* E. H. Cressy, Christian Higher Education in China, pp. 202-203. China Christian Educational Association, Shanghai, 1928.

Besides these, there are the returned students, many of whom—the earliest ones especially—went abroad under missionary influence. There are also large numbers of men and women in all walks of life who respond to and support the modernization and reconstruction of China who received their training and inspiration from the mission schools.

Another contribution which the mission schools have made in this direction, directly or indirectly, is in awakening national consciousness among the Chinese. Directly, the mission schools in the earlier days introduced the Western political ideas of equality, liberty, and fraternity, through religion and Western history. During the days of the Tsing Dynasty, especially before the government's installation of the modern educational system, such ideas were important factors in inspiring the students to revolutionary ideals for a republican form of

government. Through a study of foreign laws, diplomacy, and international relations, the students began to inquire about the international status of China and how she might regain her sovereignty. How the mission schools affected the national consciousness among the Chinese may be seen by the peculiarly larger number of diplomats in China, coming from missionary schools, who have served China in her struggle for sovereignty. Some of the more noted ones are: Wang Chung-Hui, C. T. Wang, Alfred Sze, and Wellington Koo. In this respect, even Sun Yat-Sen was also susceptible to the influence of missionary education. Indirectly, the presence of foreigners, and the prosperity and culture they represent, constantly stimulate the Chinese to strive for better things. Inasmuch as the dominance and unbecoming behavior of foreigners irritate a certain group and type of students in their schools, mission education in a passive way arouses national sentiment among the Chinese. Thus it not only helped to solve the problem of education during China's age of national depression, but it also helped to train leaders and to arouse the sense and intensify the urge for national power and prosperity.

THE MOVEMENT FOR THE RECOVERY OF RIGHTS OF EDUCATION

A discussion of the relationship between Nationalism and private schools in China would be incomplete without a discussion of the movements for the "Recovery of the Rights of Education" and for Registration. The foregoing discussion has been more or less a presentation of the effect of private education in China as it generally existed in the past and as it would have continued to exist had the movement for governmental control been dormant. As the preceding discussion presented typical features of private education in China in general, and mission education in particular, prior to the movement for change, we now have the background for the rise of the recent movement. We have seen that the study was one of "Denationalization and Private Schools" rather than one of "Nationalism and Private Schools." We have also seen the causes of the rise of a nationalistic movement for the control of these schools, which has come to be known as the "Movement for the Recovery of the Rights of Education" and the "Movement for Registration of Private Schools with the Government".

The term "Movement for the Recovery of the Rights of Education" indicates a social movement, and as such it is difficult to define its goal exactly, which varies with its various advocates. However, the movement was motivated by the control of the schools conducted by foreigners.

The term "Movement for the Registration of Private Schools" is less sensational and indicates an administrative procedure of the government. Its goal is definitely prescribed in the government regulations regarding registration, and is decidedly moderate in character. All private schools, including those established and maintained by citizens, are addressed.*

* "The attitude of the Nationalist Government toward the Christian schools can be inferred from the following:—(1) The interpretation of 'Regain Educational Rights' as made by the Central Educational Commission, July 1927 is: 'This Commission has recently determined that all private schools, including mission schools and foreign-supported schools, shall be allowed to register in accordance with the official regulations and to continue to be maintained. People of all classes and students of private schools may, on no account, deliberately try to destroy a private institution by means of the slogan 'Regain Educational Rights'." (H. C. Tsao, Nationalist Movement and Christian Education in China, China Christian Year Book, 1928, p. 183. Christian Literature Society, Shanghai.)

As a matter of fact neither the word "Recovery" nor even "Resumption," is an appropriate word to use, nor its Chinese original "Shou Hui" (to get back). These words imply that something had been lost. As a matter of fact, no educational right had legally been given up. It was rather a right which China, as a sovereign power, had previously neglected, or had not felt the need to exercise. When she resolves to exercise that right, she is executing it and not recovering or resuming it. A better term to use would be "Chih Shing," meaning "execute," instead of "Shou Hui" meaning "recovery," and a better term for the movement would be "the Execution of the Rights of Education."

The following discussion, like the preceding ones, will deal largely with the mission schools. The Japanese schools will also be discussed. The other private schools will not receive the amount of space their numerical strength would seem to call for as they do not constitute a problematic phenomenon of any magnitude to the problem of national education. The "private schools," Ssu Shu, will not be discussed under the present category of private schools.

The "Movement for the Recovery of the Rights of Education" implies a struggle for national sovereignty. It is synchronous with the movements for the Recovery of the Rights to exercise jurisdiction over foreigners, or the abolition of extraterritoriality, and the rights to control the customs, or tariff autonomy. But the movement for the recovery of the rights of education reveals an amalgamation of many mixed motives; it is not based upon the desire for political sovereignty pure and simple. The fact that mission education endangers or may endanger national unity and national culture, as seen in a previous discussion, intensified the feeling in the struggle for national sovereignty.

There were still other reasons for which the movement was supported. Some supported it because they were anti-religious, in the name of science and modernity. In this, at one stage, the communist attitude was strong. This anti-religious attitude the Chinese government and its responsible leaders have never openly taken. They have always made known, even at most critical movements, their belief that the preaching of religion and freedom of belief are rights guaranteed and protected, though the leaders themselves are not pro-religion in any way. Some supported it because they stood for the freedom of thought and belief and oppose the preaching and teaching of religion in the Christian schools, especially when the study of the Bible and religious worship are compulsory even for the children of the elementary grades and the kindergarten.

In order to understand more fully this mixture of feelings, the background of this movement and the social and political situation under which it flourished must be noted. The movement against the mission schools, resulting in the movement for the recovery of Educational Rights, was a consequence of the anti-Christian or anti-religious movement which broke out in 1922. Its effect was more permanent than the movement which gave it birth. One may recall the significance of the Renaissance Movement, the lesson China learned from the World War,* and the effect of the student movement of 1919,

* In this particular case, in reference to the missionary rights and property, China also learned from her experience within her own borders that it is legitimate according to international practice to confiscate the property and rights of nationals hostile to them. (See Paul Monroe, China: A Nation in Evolution, pp. 312-313. Macmillan Co., New York, 1928).

which serve as the background of the movement under consideration. The situations under which the movement grew has been presented in Chapter I in the discussion of its relation to the broad nationalist movement under the leadership of the Kuomintang.

While the movement for the "recovery of educational rights" grew slowly after 1922, it was not until the Shanghai Massacre (in May 8, 1925), followed by the strike at St. John's University‡

‡ The students of St. John's University walked out because the president, an American, refused—most extraordinarily, as even many foreigners thought—to permit them to participate in the patriotic movement in connection with the May 30th Incident. Many mission school authorities followed the example of St. John's University, the best known Christian University in China then, and as a result the students followed the example of the St. John's students. This led to 44 strikes in mission schools in June and September of that year. (See Shu Hsin-Cheng, The Movement For the Recovery of Educational Rights, pp. 82-86. Chung Hua Book Co., Shanghai, 1927.—In Chinese).

that the movement spread in leaps and bounds. During this time, it is true that certain groups went too far at certain times

in the exercise of educational rights. The attacks on the mission schools were certainly more severe, in many cases, than the circumstances justified. The extreme measures of opposition which the mission school authorities in turn took, often times rather unwisely, intensified the antagonism of the Chinese. The perpetuation of that process led to the closing of many mission schools. As one looks back through almost a decade's experience of the movement, one may be willing, however, to consider the period from May, 1925 to April, 1927 as an abnormal period, in which departures were made from the general principles for which the public opinion in China stands. Some groups even went to the extreme of advocating the confiscation of mission school property, the deprivation of the right to establish schools by religious converts, foreign or native, the excommunication of the mission school students and teachers, and the prohibition of any religious instruction in the curriculum. In some localities, the attitude toward the movement differs somewhat from other parts, according to the sentiment of the people and the leaders there.* However,

* "The dominance of radical factions in several provinces has led to the promulgation of far more drastic regulations, under some of which mission schools, or foreign schools of any kind—or, in some instances, private schools of any kind—could not operate. Such a situation actually accomplishes what the recent school referendum in the State of Oregon attempted." Paul Monroe, Op. Cit., p. 326.)

judging from the regulations the Chinese government has endorsed in Peking, Canton and Nanking, which have the majority support of the Chinese, it is plain that the movement spurred by the spirit of nationalism of the masses has been brought under the control of intelligence.

THE EXERCISE OF THE EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

The first government regulation for bringing the private schools under its jurisdiction dated as early as 1913.* Prior

* New Educational Laws of the Chinese Republic, Vol. IV, pp. 93-94. (In Chinese.)

to that time, the government's attitude was more or less indifferent. As far as the private schools established by the Chinese were concerned, the attitude was one of laissez-faire, with but minor exceptions, such as the prohibition of the use of real rifles in military drill in private schools and the prohibition of the establishment of special schools for the study of political science and law by private individuals during the time of the Manchu government‡ and the regulation for the

* For fear that revolutionaries might have made use of the students in the private schools, there were two sections in the famous document,

the Imperial School Regulations, promulgated by Chang Chi-Tung and his colleagues in 1903:—

"Private schools shall not be allowed to maintain special course in Political Science and Law—

> "In recent years there are young and reckless fellows who like to bluff on the rights of the people, freedom, and such nonsense because they do not know what Western Learning or what Western Government is and that they have not read sufficient Western literature. . . . The trouble is that they do not study Western science but like to talk about Western Government and law. . . . According to the regulation promulgated this time, all schools, except the Peking University and the Higher Academies established by the government in the Provincial Centers, shall have to devote their attention to general and industrial training. The schools established by private initiative shall not be allowed to give special course in political science and law in order to guard against the danger of empty talk and misleading discussion.

"Private schools shall not be allowed to study military drill before obtaining governmental approval:—

> "All the private schools in the populace shall not be allowed to teach military drill, unless approved by the government. Those that have government approval to teach military drill shall be allowed to use the wooden guns only. Real rifles are not allowed." (Chang Chi-Tung and others, "Outlines of Education," Articles 16 and 17, The Imperial School Regulations, Ministry of Instruction, 1903.—In Chinese.)

improvement of the Ssu Shu, "private schools," after 1910. Not until recently was the government conscious of the necessity of exercising the educational right to regulate them. This consciousness was awakened by the graveness of the situation and was quickened by the sensitiveness of public opinion.

It would be a mistake to think that the leaders of Chinese government had never been conscious of such a problem as the educational rights of the country or the undesirability of leaving education in the hands of the foreigner. An illustration of this point is a document by Tsen Chun-Hsuen, governor of Shan Si Province then and later the viceroy of Kwangtung, written in 1902. Regarding the power to be entrusted to Timothy Richard, a British missionary, the authority who was to run the university in Shan Si to be maintained by the Boxers' indemnity, Tsen said: "But it would be an intrusion upon our educational rights if we leave the authority to him concerning the making of the curriculum, the employment of teachers, and the selection of students."* There were several reasons why

* Tsen Chun-Hsuen, "Petition to the Emperor Proposing the Consolidation of the Chinese-Western University into the Shan Si University as the Special Department of Western Learning." (Shu, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China, Vol. I, pp. 66-67.—In Chinese.)

the government had not taken any steps to control them. First, there seemed to be no need for this innovation against the tradition of private education until the mission school system caught such wide attention and until the aggressiveness of Japan was feared. Second, there was a very hazy idea regarding the

rights of the foreigners in China, partly due to the attitude of avoiding issues with the foreigners even if they had trodden beyond the bounds of the treaty provisions, and partly due to misunderstanding of the provisions in the treaties themselves. Tsen's statements also illustrate the point: "Again, according to the treaties, there is no provision prohibiting the missions to establish schools. In the South-eastern provinces, schools established by the missions are numerous. The officials of the localities can not question their so doing."§ Third, the

§ Ibid., pp. 67-68.

government thought that the refusal to register or recognize schools established by foreigners was even a greater guarantee against the infringement upon the nation's rights of education. That passive gesture implied that the government did not commit itself to receive the mission students into the favored family of Government students. Such an attitude may be seen in the statement promulgated by the Ministry of Instruction in 1906: "Regarding the schools established by foreigners in the interior, the Imperial Schools Regulations (issued in 1903) does not provide for the approval (of their establishment). Aside from the fact that those that have already been established for the time being be allowed to stay without our registration, henceforth, should there be foreigners' petitions for the establishment of schools in the interior they should not be registered. None of their students shall be given rewards and encouragement."*

* "Correspondence to the Governors of the Provinces that Schools Established by Foreigners May Not Be Registered," by the Ministry of Instruction (Shu, Source Book in the History of Modern Education in China, Vol. II, pp. 135-136.—In Chinese.)

Even today it is not clear to many whether, by the process of registration, the private schools are admitted by the government at par with its schools or whether they are simply recognized as approved schools or whether only by so doing they are entitled to exist.

Government regulations for the registration of private schools were promulgated as early as 1913, and there were succeeding regulations to the same effect in 1920 and 1921, but the mission schools were not stirred to action until the regulations promulgated in November, 1925, by the Peking government. These resulted from the movement for the recovery of educational rights after the May 30th Incident. The regulations promulgated by the Nationalist Government through the Central Educational Administrative Commission in October, 1926, and December, 1927, through the University Council in February, 1928, and through the Department of Education in January and August, 1929, differ in details but do not differ in any significant way from the spirit of those set

up by the Peking Government in November, 1925.‡

‡ The only significant differences are: that the head of the school must be Chinese, the school must have adequate income, and that the Government has the right to dissolve the private schools if necessary while the private schools have no right to close without government approval, whereas those items were not provided in the regulations by the Peking Government of November, 1925.

The Private School Regulations promulgated by the Ministry of Education in August, 1929, include all of the essential points of the previous regulations of both the Peking and Nationalist Government and are much better organized. All the previous regulations were declared void when this new set came into effect. It contains five chapters:—1. General Regulations; 2. The Regulations regarding the Board of Directors, its organization, composition, registration, and function; 3. Regulations regarding Universities, Separate Colleges, and Technical and Professional Schools; 4. Regulations regarding Private Elementary Schools and Schools of Secondary level; and 5. Supplement—all in twenty-nine articles.*

* Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Education, Vol. I, No. 9, September, 1929, pp. 109-121. (In Chinese).

An examination of the whole document yields the following points of significance:

First, private schools of all kinds shall fall under one category. No discrimination is made against those of foreign support or religious affiliation. (Articles 1 and 7.)

Second, all private schools are under government supervision and have to comply with government regulation regarding the organization of the schools, the curriculum, and other matters. (Article 3.)

Third, the educational authorities, on reasons of mismanagement or disobedience to regulations, have the right to dissolve the private schools whereas the voluntary dissolution of the school or of the Board of Directors without government approval is not permitted. (Articles 2, 6, and 18.)

Fourth, every private school has to have adequate staff and educational facilities and an income up to the standard of the government. (Articles 22 and 26).

Fifth, students and graduates from private schools not registered under the government shall not be able to enjoy the same treatment and privileges as the students from registered schools. (Article 28.)

Sixth, in case of schools established by foreigners, the chairman and two-thirds of the Board of Directors, the head of

the school—the President, the dean, or the principal as the case may be—must be Chinese. (Articles 4 and 19.)

Seventh, in the case of schools established by religious organizations, religious teaching can not be put on a required basis, nor can advantage be taken of the regular school program for religious propaganda. Students must not be compelled, urged, or "induced" to religious worship. In the elementary schools no religious worship is allowed to be performed. (Article 5.)

Eighth, there are five stages which a school has to go through in its process of registration: first, the application for the government's permission for the establishment of the Board of Directors, second, application for the Board's registration with the government, third, the application for the government's permission to establish the school, fourth, the report on the development of the school after half a year, (in the case of schools of collegiate level, it is one year), and fifth, application for registration with the government one year after opening (in the case of schools of collegiate level, it is three years after opening).

It is interesting to note that only two articles out of twenty-nine have special references to schools by foreigners and that only one has reference to religious teaching. The other twenty-six articles deal with administrative and technical procedures that do not concern us in any particular way here in our discussion of the principles.

Although as a historical study the previous sets of regulations interest us, yet they were all short-lived. This set is based upon the previous enactments, and might endure longer. Two points about it should be noted. First, it shows that the regulations have been undergoing a process of improvement in thought, in definiteness, and in wording as a result of being tested. It shows that the framers of the previous ones really did not have a very clear idea of registration in their minds. Second, this set of regulations as compared with that passed seven months previous is much more severe in its attitude toward private schools under religious or foreign auspices. In regard to religion, the statement was added that students shall not be urged or induced to religious worship and that religious worship shall not be performed in the elementary schools. In regard to foreigners, while formerly foreign membership in the Board of Directors was not to exceed half of the total, now it is further limited to a maximum of one-third. The fluctuation in the regulations is evidently due to change in the Ministry who were in authority to frame them. For this reason, this set of regulations, in form and in particulars, has to be looked upon as one which is also in the process of change or evolution.

RESULT OF THE MOVEMENT FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE RIGHTS OF EDUCATION

Technically, the whole private school system is being affected by the movement for registration, but practically only the schools of foreign affiliation in administration or culture are being keenly affected, for there is practically no opposition on the part of the purely Chinese private schools to government regulation and registration. Of course, there are some complaints from the individual schools because they have to comply with government regulations and supervision to which they had not been accustomed or because they are compelled to close their doors for failure to meet the government's restrictions,* but there is no organized protest of any kind.

* e.g. Nine universities and colleges (all non-Christian) have been ordered by the Ministry to close up. (Shanghai Times, June 15, 1930.—In Chinese.)

Even if they were organized, they would not have been supported by public opinion. In fact, many schools became more popular as a result of this movement. Indeed, some were established to meet the opportune situation created by the movement for the "recovery of educational rights," the most notable of which is the Kwang Hua (meaning "China illuminated") University‡

‡ Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, p. 353. The Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930.—(In Chinese.)

of Shanghai. From the conception of the idea of founding a university in June 1925, chiefly to receive the teachers and students from St. John's University who protested against the American administration, to the erection of a university with over a thousand students housed on its new campus, with new administrative and academic buildings and teachers' residences, and with a staff of native and returned scholars it took only a year. This shows the temper of Chinese private school educators toward the movement for the recovery of educational rights. The fact that the University of Amoy, donated by Tan Ka-Kee, a public-spirited Chinese merchant, with five colleges of high standard, was the first private university registered at the Ta Hsueh Yuan§ (Ministry of Education) is

§ China Year Book, 1930, p. 530. Published by the Tientsin Press, Ltd., Tientsin.

another indication of the attitude of Chinese Private Schools toward registration.

Of the private schools conducted by foreigners, the schools maintained for commercial reasons or for profit have practically died out as a result of the various political movements in China in the last decade. The problem of the Japanese schools in Manchuria has so far been insignficant as compared with that

of the mission schools, both because of the smaller number and their locational nature. Thus the mission schools again shall be the center of our attention here.

As a result of the movement, many mission schools have closed,* but, also, many have registered with the government or

* According to E. H. Cressy, "During the recent disturbed conditions the Christian middle schools have suffered, about half of them being closed for shorter or longer periods, a number of which have not yet reopened." Ibid., p. 536.

are in the process of doing so. Of those in existence, few stand aloof and fewer still are antagonistic. According to D. W. Lyon, 70 per cent. of the Christian middle schools were registered or were in the process of registering. Among the Christian colleges and universities, seven were already registered and four were in the process of doing so. It is a generally accepted principle and policy among the Christian school authorities that all mission schools should be registered with the government. Some may still hope for greater toleration in the matter of religious education before they make a definite move. From the scattered reports, the number of schools applying for registration is increasing every day.

As a consequence of registration, the following organic changes take place in those schools that have fallen in line with registration. New Boards of Directors have been composed, with Chinese membership in the majority and with a Chinese chairman, where Chinese membership was diminutive, in fact scarcely existed. Heads of the institutions are now Chinese. In 1925, all the presidents of the thirteen colleges and universities that constitute the China Association for Christian Higher Education were Westerners;* in 1930, of the eleven that

* "Handbook of Christian Colleges and Universities, 1926," China Christian Educational Association, Bulletin No. 14, pp. 23-24.

remained open, all the presidents or acting presidents were Chinese with the exception of St. John's University. The organization of those schools and the curriculum have been tuned in harmony with the standards set forth by the government for all schools. No student is required to take any course in religion and attendance in religious meetings is voluntary; thus a tradition of mission education in China for many decades has been changed.

From the point of view of national culture, the curriculum in the mission schools has given a greater place to the Chinese language and Chinese culture. This fact has been remarked on by leaders inside as well as outside the mission education field. For example, E. H. Cressy, a missionary educator, made the following observation: "Up to two years ago these institutions (mission colleges and universities) have been under foreign

management and the faculties have been predominantly foreign. This has been reflected to a considerable extent in the curriculum, but there has been an increasing emphasis upon Chinese studies and considerable progress in raising standards along this line."* Shu Hsin Cheng, a Chinese educator who looks upon mission education with great disfavor, has also commented upon the situation to the same effect.‡

* Christian Education in China, China Yearbook, 1930. p. 537. Published by the Tientsin Press, Ltd., Tientsin.

§ Shu Hsin-Cheng, The Movement of the Recovery of Educational Rights, pp. 88-89. Chung Hua Book Co., Shanghai, 1927.—(In Chinese.)

Even the purpose of education in mission schools has been modified. Instead of the avowed purpose of evangelism, which means the purposeful winning over of the Chinese youth to Christian culture, the mission schools consider education alone as a worthy cause. Of course, there are still some who feel that their mission would be a failure should they fail to carry on evangelistic work in the schools, but it is obvious that the days and opportunities for such open religious inculcation in the schools have passed away.

From the standpoint of national unity, the mission schools have certainly been brought much closer to the rest of the school system. The registration process helps to bridge many gaps and to unify all schools, private and public, into a common system with greater articulation between one and the other. It has created a greater consciousness on the part of the Chinese teachers and students in the mission schools that they belong more to the Chinese system than to the Christian or missionary system. Formerly, there was the policy of the "Monroe Doctrine" in the Christian educational system and the attitude of competition with the government system; that policy and that attitude have been substituted by those of cooperation and mutual help. Even within the Christian educational system, there has been greater cooperation and coordination.

From the standpoint of national sovereignty, in the sense that the nationals as individuals are representatives of their government in discharging their duties in the interests and according to the inspirations of the people, the registration movement has brought forth considerable change. Not only has the authority been transferred from foreigners to Chinese, but also, the number of Chinese on the staff has been greatly increased in proportion.* Also, the treatment and privileges

* According to a study of the Christian middle schools in East China by E. H. Cressy and C. C. Chih, there has been a greater increase of Chinese membership in the faculty of the Christian middle schools in the last two years. The following are the percentages of Chinese on the staff: 1918-1919, 68.86; 1924-1925, 76.46; 1926-1927, 78.37;

1928-1929, 86.00. (Middle School Standards, Second Study, 1929, East China Studies in Education, No. 5, p. 20. East China Christian Educational Association.)

accorded to the Chinese teachers have been improved, with lesser differentiation from those which the foreign teachers had been enjoying.‡ The contrast in the status of the "white" and the

‡ A resolution was passed by the Chinese administrative officers of the Christian colleges in China to this effect: "In the matter of salary, residence, subsidy for the education of children, insurance, travelling expenses, medical attention, etc., it should be based upon a fair and equal basis. The system should be based upon the qualification and position of the teacher without any national discrimination." (See Shu Hsin-Cheng, Op. Cit. p. 89.—In Chinese.)

native members of the staff, suggesting the superiority of the former, is now passing away. Furthermore, whatever amount of authority the foreigners still have, it is quite obvious that they try to respect Chinese sentiment much more than they ever did before. It is now generally accepted as poor form to boast of mission and Christian education or to file complaints on government restrictions in the name of the mission schools as a system. In other words, the movement has changed these schools, established by foreigners, to be, in an increasing degree, institutions of the Chinese, by the Chinese, and for the Chinese.

What has been said about the changes in mission schools is largely based upon the present status of their colleges and universities, party because they have assumed the leadership in the movement for registration* and partly because

* "The colleges and universities (Christian) have taken the lead in accepting the requirement on the part of the government that private schools should register." (China Yearbook, 1930, p. 537).

information about them is more accessible. It is correct to infer that similar changes have taken place in the Christian schools as a whole.

The movement has brought other effects outside the schools. In the first place, it has tested, to a certain extent, the force of national sentiment and has demonstrated the degree of its effectiveness, as this was the power behind the government's action. Through this expression, it has been possible to carry its voice to all parts of the world from which the missionaries come. Whether they approve of the Chinese national sentiment or not, they have at least learned that it exists. In the second place, it has shown a very hopeful sign for further cooperation between the missionaries and the Chinese people. The home boards of the missions have shown that their respect for Chinese sovereignty as seen in their resolutions regarding extraterritoriality* is greater than that

* The recent attitude of the mission boards in respect to China's sovereignty may be seen in the resolutions of the boards in 1925. The following are some of the statements taken from their resolutions:

"To refrain from taking advantage of China in order to seek special rights and privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states." "We do not desire any distinctive privileges for missions and missionaries imposed by treaty upon the Chinese government and people." "They (the missionary societies) do not desire that the legal rights of their missions and missionaries in China should in future rest upon existing treaties between Great Britain, and in particular upon the so-called toleration clauses in these treaties dealing specially with missionary work." "They desire that their future legal rights and liberties should be those freely accorded to them by China as a Sovereign Power and mutually agreed upon in equal conference between China and other nations." (Taken from Wu Chao-Kuang, The International Aspect of the Missionary Movement in China, Appendix B, pp. 257-265. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1930)

of many of their workers in the field. The Chinese national government has never stepped beyond the bounds of a responsible government in regard to the control of missionary education. Even when the Nationlist Government was at the peak of Communistic influence, it was not trying to make things harder for the missionary schools, as evidenced by the set of regulations promulgated in October, 1926.‡ This is further

‡ Chinese Cyclopedia of Education, p. 509. Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930.—In Chinese.)

illustrated by the subsidy which the Chinese government has appropriated to two well-known mission universities, the Lingnan University and the University of Nanking which have been in alignment with government registration.

There are two groups which are still not satisfied with the regulations for registration as they stand. One group is composed of the die-hard nationalists in China, who believe that foreigners may still influence the policies of education in the Board of Directors, Christian organizations may still maintain schools, religious subjects may still be an elective subject in the school, and religious ceremonies may still be held in the school by being put on a voluntary basis. The other group is composed of the inconvertible missionaries, who insist that Christian teaching and religious worship should be allowed in the required program in the private schools, and who question why San-Min-Chu-I, the Three Principles of Sun Yat-Sen, can be made a required subject for all schools and why the Christian Bible can not even be allowed in the private schools. These two groups both base their arguments on their diverging assumptions of the rights of the State; the former thinks of the absolute right of the state, the latter of the right of private enterprise. It would not be far from the truth to say that one is holding Soviet Russia before it as the model, and the other, native managed institutions in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Evidently, it is impossible to satisfy both groups at the same time.

Indeed, the question of religious education has long been a point in battle. According to Article Five of the Regulation

for the Registration of Private Schools, promulgated by the Peking Government in November, 1925, "The purpose of the school shall not be for the promulgation of religion." That worried the Christian educators considerably. Upon the request of various Christian auspices, T. T. Lew, president of the China Christian Educational Association, petitioned the Ministry of Education for an interpretation in July 1926. The interpretation given by the Ministry was very favorable and satisfactory to the Christian educators. But the anti-religious Chinese educators regretted that the Ministry had been under the softening influence of T. T. Lew and had interpreted that article so mildly. In the same set of regulations, Article Six was to this effect: "The school curriculum shall follow the standard set up by the Ministry; religion shall not be put as a required subject." At that time the Christian schools were reluctant to give up religion as a required subject, as indicated by a resolution passed by the Council of Christian Higher Education in February, 1926: "That we urge the Christian educational institutions to put clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, and the *first part of clause 6* of the regulations of November, 1925, into effect as rapidly as possible."* The *second part of the clause*, though

* "The Interpretation of Clause Five of the Government Regulations for Registration of Mission Schools," China Christian Educational Association, Message No. 3, 1926, p. 2.

mild as we look at it to-day, was already too severe to have their acceptance.

The increased severity in regard to religious education in the Regulations of August, 1929, as compared with that of January of the same year, is an illustration of a similar struggle. In petitioning for religious freedom in the Christian schools in the name of 256,453 Chinese Christians in July, 1930, the request for the right of the Christian schools to offer religion as a selective subject in the junior high schools and to conduct religious worship in the elementary schools on a voluntary basis was turned down by the Ministry.* More severe than that is

* Christian Education Quarterly, September, 1930, pp. 69-72. (In Chinese).

the interpretation of Article Five of the Regulations of August, 1929. Schools are not even allowed to display religious literature in the libraries or to post up religious posters and pictures.‡

‡ The China Times, Shanghai, July, 23, 1930. (In Chinese).

It would be a mistake to close the discussion of the registration movement by leaving out the unpleasant side of the picture. In the first place, there was a struggle with costly sacrifices before the present stage of affairs was reached. Many schools closed up. Those which succeeded in keeping

their doors open had a hard struggle to do so. From the standpoint of mission education, the breaking up of the schools meant great suffering to the students. Even when the mission schools are registered, the enrollment of students, even if they had reached or excelled the old record, is far from the point to which their previous rate of progress would have led them.§

§ According to a study of the Christian Middle Schools in East China, the enrolment in 1922 was 11,000 and that of 1927 was only 5,500. (China Christian Yearbook, 1929, p. 273.)

In the second place, the relationship between the mission school group and the non-mission school group, between Christians and non-Christians, between Chinese and foreigners, has become antagonistic during this struggle. The antagonism was intensified in proportion to the opposition of the opponent and to the duration of the struggle. Also, the school strikes did real harm to the progress of those schools in the future. In many cases, cooperation between the Chinese and foreign colleagues still leaves much to be desired. Especially to the more sensitive, the experience of the conflict has left deep cuts which make mutual trust and open-hearted cooperation difficult. In the third place, it was most unfortunate, from the standpoint of those who share the Christian faith, that it was only when the Chinese threatened to boycott their religion and their mission education as they boycotted the imported goods that some of the missionaries could bring themselves to yield. Certainly the lesson of nationalism is a costly one.

A SUMMARY

In this chapter the writer has tried to show the various types of private schools in China. While the Mission schools are perhaps the most dominating type, yet inasmuch as they are treated under the same category as the rest of the private schools by the Chinese governmental regulation, they are discussed under the same broad topic in this study.

Private education, as a matter of fact, used to be the only type of school education in China. The state's enterprise in the establishment of schools throughout the country is only a modern development. We have reviewed the private school situation from the standpoint of national unity, national culture, national sovereignty, and national prosperity. The movement for the recovery of the right to educate and the results of the movement have also been presented.

From the standpoint of national unity, private schools in general, and the foreign schools in particular, tend to endanger national homogeneity because of their aristocratic character and their loyalty to the interests of the individual groups that patronize them. The separate system of schools of the

Protestant and Catholic missions, because of its highly organized character, has been more alarming in recent years.

From the standpoint of national culture, it is the foreign schools that cause worry. The Japanese schools in Manchuria are looked upon as agencies of cultural imperialism. Also, mission education in itself assumes the attitude of cultural superiority. Originally, the mission schools were designed for the purpose of cultural transformation. The background and training of the leaders of mission education add much more to the depreciation of Chinese culture.

From the standpoint of national sovereignty, it is again the foreign schools that are matters of concern. The wide awake consciousness of the problem that challenges the right of the foreigners to educate the Chinese on Chinese soil is of a recent date. The problem arose as the attention of the Chinese was directed to the provocative exertion of missionary education in 1922. The subjection of the Chinese scholars and Chinese youth to foreign tutelage on Chinese soil was looked upon with great disfavor as soon as the Chinese became aware of the various forms of national rights that they should reclaim.

From the standpoint of national prosperity, the private schools in general, and the mission schools in particular, have made considerable contributions to the country by training leaders and by providing educational opportunities for hundreds of thousands when the nation was handicapped in its financial means. It is chiefly because of the nation's financial inability that the private schools, even those suspected of denationalizing youth, have been handled with considerable tolerance.

The movement for the recovery of the right to educate, or the movement for the registration of private schools, if one wants to call it so, is a movement answering the situation that has just been presented. The movement began in 1922 as a result of the anti-religion movement, and has been developing since under the nourishment of the Nationalist Movement. The exercise of governmental control over private schools was really taken seriously only after the Shanghai Incident of May, 1925. In an analysis of the governmental regulations regarding the registration of private schools—mission schools under the same category—it should be noted that the schools maintained by foreigners have been treated very fairly when one takes into consideration the problems which an oppressed nation of non-Christian culture has to face in its earnest endeavor to regain its lost sovereignty. As a result of the movement, the number of private schools that come under governmental registration is increasing; facts seem to indicate that the private schools are more and more falling in line with the national school system.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In an attempt to discover the relationship between nationalism and school education in China in the last thirty years, the writer has taken the procedure of finding how certain ideals of nationalism have acted upon or have been reacted upon by certain major aspects of school education. This has been done by reviewing the educational aims and thought, the curricula, the textbooks, the student movements, the situation of teachers, and the private schools, around the central ideas of national unity, national sovereignty, national power, and national culture. The purpose of the study has been to analyze and reveal the relationships rather than to prove any thesis. Whatever our findings, they can claim to be true of the school situation in China only in so far as the part of China is under study. But whether the conclusions arrived from a study of school education is also applicable to the Chinese situation in general, it is beyond the duty of this present study.

What is the relation between nationalism and school education in China? This question can not very well be answered by a single generalized statement as the study has shown, for what may be true of one aspect of nationalism may be quite untrue of another; what may be true at one time of the development may be quite untrue at another time; and what may be true of one phase of school education may be quite untrue of another phase. As we have concerned ourselves with the outstanding features of various phases of school education and not their details, we shall review school education also in the broad outline.

In concluding the study in this chapter, let us place before ourselves several more major questions regarding the whole subject of nationalism and school education in China and see to what extent the foregoing analyses have answered them. First, what are the outstanding factors in the relationship between nationalism and the several phases of school education, such as the aims of education, the curriculum, the textbooks, the students, the teachers, and the private schools? Second, what are the characteristics of the development of nationalism in school education in China in the modern period? Third, how has such a development been conditioned? Fourth, what has been the relationship between school education and the ideals

for national power, national unity and solidarity, national culture, and national sovereignty? We shall now consider these questions in order.

NATIONALISM AND THE AIMS OF EDUCATION, THE CURRICULUM, THE TEXTBOOKS, ETC.

The outstanding relationships between nationalism and each of the major phases of school education have already been presented separately in the summaries of the corresponding chapters. But here we shall speak of them as a whole.

First, the type of nationalism as revealed in the various phases of the school seems to be, on a whole, not chauvinistic, but sensitive to internationalism. Anti-foreignism as such has been hardly noticeable even at the latest stage of the development in China. This we see in the provisions for internationalism in the aims of education, in the citizenship training in the curriculum, in the general atmosphere of the textbooks, in the sending of students abroad and in the toleration of foreign education in China. But this is far from saying that the sentiment for nationalism, though it may be mild at certain times, has not been an important factor, as a later section will show.

Second, we notice that these various phases of education have frequently been in disaccord, though constantly with sporadic efforts to adjust one to the other. For example, after a new national or international crisis, a new set of aims are proposed. After some time, a new curriculum is devised and promulgated. Then a new series of textbooks is written and popularized. By the time the textbooks are popularized, the social situation has changed. Thus a new set of aims are again proposed, and the textbooks of the previous period are used until new ones are in their place. Unless the curriculum and the textbooks are not held too fast and rigid in the process of education, or unless there is an intelligent and sensitive organ of control and direction that will be able to supply the teachers the right subject matter as soon as new aims are effected, the perpetual rotation of this cycle of educational lag will be unavoidable in a social order of radical transformation such as that in China.

Third, the more vital element in school education in China seems to be the students, rather than the curriculum or even the statement of aims. The student movement has left its marks in Chinese history in a way that must be recognized. But a program of education that takes the student problem as the starting point instead of the traditional problems of subject matter seems to be unduly lacking in educational efforts.

Therefore, to life rather than to the contents of education educators should direct more of their serious attention.

It seems clear that different political groups have taken different attitudes toward the student movements. The fact that the students have been instrumentalized can not be denied, however genuine the student motives might have been. Student movements have generally been encouraged by those who are in power. For the groups in power—the government—the student problem has not been met beyond the regulation of students along the line of discipline or the appeal for academic learning. It is questionable whether suppression and artificial stimulation alone can solve the problem. It needs to be met by changing the conception that education is the transmission of knowledge to the conception that the education is living. It is perhaps only by taking an aggressive attitude in the direction of students that the student problem can finally best be met.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONALISM

The development of nationalism in school education in China is characterized by four stages. The first period is from 1862 to 1900, from the establishment of the Tung Wen Kuan to the Boxer Revolt. In this period there was much popular opposition to the introduction of Western education, which at that time, was limited to military science and mechanics. In the second period, from 1900 to 1911, from the close of the Boxer Revolt to the fall of the Tsing Dynasty, hesitancy and opposition were replaced by the spirit of acceptance and the anxiety for reform. The modern school system was installed. The old examination system, together with its Institutes of Learning, were abolished. Efforts were made to harmonize the old Chinese culture with the new learning. The fervor to get hold of the new source of power was most astonishing as especially seen in the rapid progress of school education and the student movement to Japan. The third and fourth periods range from 1912 to the present time—up to 1930—from the birth of the Chinese Republic to the present Nationalist regime. No exact year can be named for the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth, but for convenience about 1922 is selected. In this third period, there was much optimism in regard to the republican form of government. A new type of citizenship was being inculcated, which first led to the abolition of the Classics from the elementary schools and later to the substitution of the vernacular for the classical language. Emphasis was placed on the democratic ideals and admiration was expressed for Western civilization. Attention is specially directed to the United States, as indicated in the textbooks, in the introduction of the 6-3-3 plan, and in the movement of students abroad. The transitional period from the third to the fourth is one of con-

fusion, as we have seen. While there was such a strong movement in 1919 as that known as the "Student Movement," there was a parallel movement to abolish the national aims of education. Since 1922, school education has been on an upward trend in the development of nationalism. This is quite clearly seen in the student movement of 1925, the movement for the recovery of educational rights, and finally in the new aims of education and in the new series of textbooks. Pessimism and the spirit of protest is prevalent in the latest period as contrasted with the optimism and receptiveness in the preceding period. The type of democratic ideals in inculcation has its emphasis upon the proletarian rather than the individualistic.

THE CONDITIONS OF NATIONALISM

The growth or decline of nationalism has been conditioned by some important factors, namely, the nature of the national stimuli, the knowledge and outlook of the world, the extent of national consciousness, and the available means of expression. The manifestations of nationalism in Chinese school education have been largely determined by the workings of those factors.

National stimulus sometimes comes in the form of irritants and sometimes in the form of national or international crises. We notice that the major movements in Chinese school education were brought into play by such stimuli. The Tung Wen Kuan was established in 1862 right after the war with Britain and France; the first group of students were sent abroad in 1870 at the conclusion of the dispute with France at Tientsin; a complete system of school education was instituted after the Armies of the Eight Powers had occupied Peking; the sudden flow of students to Japan came immediately after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905; the student movement of 1919 broke out as the news of the Shantung settlement at the Peace Conference was received; the anti-religion movement started as the World Christian Student Federation convened at Peking in 1922; and the movement for the recovery of educational rights was launched following the Shanghai Massacre of 1925, and the attitude of St. John's University in that connection. Of course, there are many other factors that influenced these movements, but the fact remains that behind them all were national situations of corresponding character which were dynamic enough to provoke such resolved actions. School education, in order to meet the social needs of a changing nation, must be very sensitive to such national stimuli.

Changes in the knowledge and conception of the world also change the manifestations of nationalism. The Chinese conception of the world has been modified from time to time; so also has her knowledge. In the earlier years, inadequate knowledge of the outside world and a wrong conception of

China's position in the world led to the twenty years of complete rejection of Western learning and forty subsequent years of partial and hesitant acceptance. Later, better knowledge of the power and the advancement of the Western world and the awakened understanding of China's perils led to fear on the one hand and to a desperate struggle for power and advancement on the other. From 1912 on, the optimism over the republican form of government removed much of the former fear. Later, as pessimism grew as a result of the World War and the Versailles Treaty, and as the principle of "Self-determination" was popularized, the social aspect of school education turned toward a struggle for national rights. As the educational principle of international brotherhood is inspired from an educational source, for a time in that period the optimism resulting from the popular talk of world peace changed the curriculum, the textbooks and considerable educational thinking toward world peace. Since 1925, however, because of a clearer conception of the nature of imperialism, nationalism in school education has taken chiefly the form of protest. Western institutions are examined with more careful criticisms.

The development of nationalism is also determined by the extent and range of national consciousness. Factors for a national consciousness in China have never been absent or dormant, but so far as the extent of national consciousness is concerned, it was radically widened only after 1919. In the Tsing Dynasty, the responsibility for national salvation as well as its manifestation was limited to officials and to the literati. The participation of the masses was not called for and was, indeed, even suppressed. In the years of the Republic, the responsibility of government which the students were taught to assume evidently enlarged the group who were national conscious. The 1919 student movement was its first outcry; since then the students have been more sensitive to their burden, and take direct action in matters of national crises. But the extent of national consciousness can not be the chief criterion of nationalism, because if one so insists, nationalism is not yet present in China, where only a small fraction of the population has national consciousness. We notice also in school education that while formerly consciousness was limited to the territorial integrity, later the range of consciousness was extended to include many other forms of national rights, as seen in the textbooks in the later periods and in the attack on missionary education.

Nationalism is determined also by the available means of expression. In going over the earlier period of modern education in China, one must not fail to see the nationalistic expressions merely because there were no street parades or student volunteers. Whether those means of expression were known to the students or not, they would not have been allowed in the monarchical regime. Thus other means of expression should

be sought. The exodus and activities of the students abroad, the introduction of military drill in the schools by the government, and the student sympathy for the revolutionary movement were the more orderly forms of the expression of nationalism. Now, with the growing conception of democracy, new techniques of mass organization and action, and improved facilities of communication, the means of expression and the extent of national consciousness will be greatly increased and widened.

SCHOOL EDUCATION AND THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF NATIONALISM

NATIONAL POWER

From an examination of school education in China, it seems clear that the desire for national power—national strength, national wealth, and national prosperity—has been a dominating factor in the conduct of school education. It was for that purpose that the Tung Wen Kuan (Language Institute) was first established in Peking in 1862, and later the technical schools of various kinds. It was for that purpose that the modern school system was finally installed. Looking over the curricula, one finds that purpose guiding the formulation of the new subjects. A review of the textbooks also shows the strong appeal to achieve national power. Students were sent abroad for that end and the subjects which they pursued were largely determined by that motive. Also, the teacher training program was launched under the spur of that desire. Finally, the foreign schools of the missionaries and the Japanese have been permitted to exist with considerable tolerance because of the need for more schools.

It is difficult to appraise what school education has done for the cause of national power, or how it has inspired the spirit for national power. While much can be said in favor of the products of modern school education in the furtherance of China's national power, much can be also said in their disfavor, as the progress in China within the last thirty years has left much to be desired. On a whole, it seems as if the single-minded determination for national power, as seen in the effort and progress in affecting modern school programs, witnessed in the periods from 1903 to 1910, has been much diverted in the later years. But for the attainment of the modern form of national power, China has been forced to forego her old culture. This is obvious from the gradual displacement of the old subject matter in the curriculum and in the textbooks, the abandonment of the classical language and the sending of her youth abroad to be educated. Furthermore, she has had to forego a portion of her national sovereignty by tolerating foreigners' educational activities on her own soil.

NATIONAL UNITY

School education in China apparently presents an outstanding feature of national unity. To begin with, the centralization of educational authority in China has always been the tradition. Since the introduction of the modern school system, the instillation of a national mind is taken care of by the promulgation of the national aims of education, the national prescription of the curriculum, the control of textbooks, the centralized system for the training of teachers, etc. The appeals for national solidarity in the textbooks and the movement for the standardization of the national spoken language are efforts towards the same goal. Again, the unity in the student movements and in the fellowship and the continued conferences of teachers makes national unity in the educational world largely uninterfered with in spite of political disunity. We find that the sentiment for national unity has been consciously expressed in the frequent attack on the returned students for their divergent affiliations and the mission schools for their separate system of education, and unconsciously expressed in the conversion of the democratic movement of writing what one speaks into a movement of writing what the majority speak. Thus school education in China presents a picture of a highly unified character. So far as we have seen, that national unity has shown not only no sign of being endangered, but contrariwise clear evidence of growing conscious strength.

In connection with the question of national unity is the question of national control of education, which is another aspect of the problem of national solidarity. We have from time to time touched upon that problem. It may be best discussed at this interval as it is also closely related to the subject of national power. As one looks back over the history of modern education in China one notices anxiety for national power on the one hand and the exercise of central control on the other. One might expect from such a union an achievement of enormous power and prosperity and high articulation and coordination in education. But such, unfortunately, has not been the case. We shall here reveal the nature of the type of national control in Chinese education and its weaknesses.

In the first place, the system of national control in China is bureaucratic, static, and stupefied. It takes a long time and a long process to get rules and regulations formulated, and, once formulated, it takes an even longer time to make the change. Many instituted forms, therefore, long outlive their usefulness and are inadequately fitted to the needs and life of the time. The system of control seems to be a mere form with a prevailing atmosphere of laxity in execution. It remains a question whether this is due to the lack of the power of efficient large scale organization and management quite dominant in Chinese character to-day.

In the second place, the kind of education over which national control is exercised is both fragmentary and devitalizing. In the mind of those who formulated education and who control it, school education is conceived of only in terms of the traditional subject matter, technique of teaching, administration of school, the partitioning of the school ladder, the defining of authority and the regulating of discipline, they seldom approach the question from other more vital elements such as the fervid aspiration and outpouring patriotism of the students and the immediate needs and problems of society. Under those conditions, the more rigid and impositional national control is, the more stagnant school education becomes and the more disintegrated the school is from social needs.

In the third place, the idea of the control of the number in training has not been developed. There have been, of course, some proposed plans for the liquidation of illiteracy based upon rough speculation regarding the number of teachers to be trained and the number of children to be accommodated each year, etc., but such plans are but scraps of paper so far. Furthermore, they do not touch upon the question of professional training. The most lamentable feature is that, while China suffers from a dire need for trained men of the kind she wants, she also suffers from the unemployment of trained men of the kind she does not need. China in her state of poverty in practically everything really can not afford this waste of training and waste of talents. True it is that the disturbed conditions there largely account for such a state of affairs, but the fact remains that nothing has been done to guide, not to speak of control, the number in training in accordance with the national needs.

Apparently China has certain elements essential to a system of national control of education. She has the traditions of centralized control, the sentiment for national unity, a common national outlook, the consciousness of national backwardness, and the desperate struggle for betterment. Should these elements be utilized and should there be the appeal of a vivified national course, the realization of the idea of national control in education should be very promising. National control has meaning only when there is a definitely conceived ideal, a well thought out plan, and a highly integrated system of planning. The program must be comprehensive, coordinated, concrete, and at the same time most sensitive to new problems and to new situations that may arise. The whole of school education should be instrumental to such a national plan. But before there is a national plan, school education as well as education in general, is the victim of isolated stimuli and an agency which wastes more than it develops human resources. But before there is a strong national government with the will and power to bring about a new order, there can be no national plan.

In recent years there has been a prevalent slogan among educational circles in China that education should be divorced from politics. The whole question of education and politics is too large a one to be opened here. But if it is correct to take the position that education is to improve life and that the education of the nation should be instrumentalized to the fullest extent for the reconstruction of the life of all the people, it seems more proper to let national policies of education be directed by statesmen rather than by the educational professionists, the educational syndicate, or the so-called educational experts. Of course, the ideal situation would be for the statesmen to be at the same time educators, and for the educators to be statesmen. But when such a happy state does not exist, it seems that the educators should work out the program under the guidance of statesmenship.

NATIONAL CULTURE

The question of national culture is, to the writer, the most interesting one in this study, not so much because the spirit of nationalism has expressed itself in the preservation of the old national culture as because it has expressed itself in the forsaking of the old culture. There are two groups of people in China who, though they have the common purpose of national salvation, take opposing views on the question of the preservation of the old native culture. Which group are greater patriots? One can not say so readily, but evidently they both are patriots.

In going over the various phases of school education, one notices that there has been a struggle between the forces that try to preserve the old national culture and those that try to displace it. Several things can be observed in this struggle. In the first place, the desire to retain the old national culture has been very strong. This was clear in the aims of education, in the provisions of the curriculum, in the intentions of the textbooks, in the attempts to keep the students abroad in touch with Chinese culture, in the measures taken to train the teachers with a good background in national culture, and in the attack of the returned students and foreign schools for their alienism to Chinese culture. In the second place, no school leader has ever openly and deliberately denounced Chinese culture as an educational policy. They all apparently agree with the slogan of the preservation of Chinese culture. Rather it has been a common procedure to link a Western practice to be introduced with a similar historical precedent in China so that the friction over its introduction will be decreased. In other words, the innovation has a greater chance of acceptance when inaugurated in the name of China's past culture. In the third place, the consciousness of Chinese culture is fast fading, as the once clear outlines of something which used to be Chinese culture are becoming every day more indistinct. The efforts for its

preservation also witness a gradual decline as the qualified transmitters of the old culture are fewer every day. In spite of the effort to preserve Chinese culture and the unchallenged sanctity of that cause, a survey of school education of the last seventy years, or even of the last three decades, shows quite unmistakably the gradual passing away of what has been known to be the outstanding characteristics of the Chinese culture.

We are touching here, in this discussion of Chinese culture, a very crucial problem and a very controversial one. The writer wishes to clarify it by calling attention to two aspects of Chinese culture and the fundamental conflict that exists between the Chinese and Western cultures, and by presenting positions which some Chinese have taken.

Chinese culture can be seen in its crystallized form from the historical records and relics in literature and art. It can also be seen in the institutions or living forces in Chinese society which bind it together and which perpetuate it. The former will live forever, while the latter will probably be so transformed as to be beyond recognition. If the study of the classics and ancient literature is for the perpetuation of the ideals and philosophy of the old Chinese culture, the insistence on its emphasis in the schools can be understood. But if their study is primarily to keep them alive and to exalt their excellence, let them be left to the scholars and the experts, and let the children and the commoners be freed by them. Inasmuch as there must be some good elements in the old culture, its literature, art, and philosophy, and inasmuch as it is only after a new interpretation or modification that the old can become useful again, the scholars, and perhaps the scholars alone, should be charged with the responsibility of a synthesis of cultures, or the creation of a new one in the light and in the knowledge of the old.

It must be recognized that there are fundamental conflicts between the old Chinese culture, which has been characteristic of the Chinese for thousands of years, and the Western culture, as found in a twentieth century setting. Granted that the Chinese culture, at its best, was as high a type of culture as an agrarian order is capable of attaining, it is a totally different question whether or not it is adequate for the present day world. If China is really determined, and there is no indication to the contrary, to be one of the great nations of the present day world, she needs to have power, wealth, and prosperity. She needs to be progressive. She needs to welcome the Western culture—democracy and science. But the conflict of cultures is bound to come, and one may as well expect it as a matter of course. As Professor Chen Tu-Seu said: "To have real democracy, we can not avoid a conflict with Confucianism, the older form of logic and of government. To have real science, we can not avoid disagreeing with the old forms of learning and religion. And if we are to have both democracy and science, we can not avoid

conflict with our long established culture."*

* La Jeunesse, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1920. (In Chinese.)

Different positions have been held by different people in regard to the question of the Chinese and Western cultures. Some hold the position of complete preservation of the Chinese culture and complete rejection of the Western culture; some hold to the whole-hearted acceptance of the Western culture; and others to the blending of the two cultures. The days for the extreme position of complete rejection to the Western culture are probably gone. But the extreme position of whole-hearted acceptance of Western culture has been advocated by a number of intellectual leaders and thinkers in China in the last decade. They deplore the fundamental weaknesses of the Chinese people and Chinese culture, criticizing even the so-called spiritual superiority of the Chinese culture.* Some even go to

* In the same spirit as the Republican Series of Textbooks which we have examined, but in much stronger language, Hu Shih has made no reservation in his criticism of Chinese life as found in China to-day. In his article "Let Us Face the Mirror", he says: "We must admit that we are inferior to others (the West) in every way. Not only in the material and the mechanical aspects are we inferior, but also in the political, social, and moral aspects as well". Essays by Hu Shih, Third Series, Vol. I, p. 47. Oriental Book Co., Shanghai, 1930. (In Chinese.)

the extreme of proposing a period of complete Westernization in order to counteract the resistance of the conservative forces in China to the inroad of modern progress and culture. The middlecourse position has been alive all the time since the introduction of Western learning. To-day some propose the preservation of what is good from the old Chinese culture and the adoption of what is good from the Western culture. It seems to be a saintly position to take. But, as a matter of fact, it is rather inferior to the well-worn slogan of the early days "Chinese learning as the foundation and Western learning as the tool", as it suggests a dualistic philosophy of composing a civilization by the scissor and paste method. But all the positions as indicated above seem to center their attention on culture as such. It seems to the writer that attention should be concentrated on life and on the vital problems of life instead of on culture. In solving these problems, all varieties of human experience should be resorted to and exhausted, whether they be Chinese or Western, ancient or modern. If, after solving those problems of life successfully, both cultures are preserved, well and good. But if they are discarded and a new type of culture is evolved instead, what matters? After all, the two cultures which many regard as sacred are but products of an adjustment between the needs and aspirations of our predecessors and their environment. Culture is for life, not life for culture. Happily, China seems to be quite sensitive, on a whole,

to the pulse of modern life, with little of the slavish lingering over what is sometimes called one's national spiritual heritage. Perhaps such a practical nature of the Chinese is the basis for the last position suggested and also the basis for hope in China's future.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

National sovereignty as expressed in and cherished by school education has been defensive and peaceful rather than aggressive in character. That is, Chinese education is not showing the kind of aggressive sovereignty acclaimed by some nations—taking measures to protect the lives and property of the nationals abroad or having exclusive pursuit of the Nation's policies at home, opposing outside interference of all kinds. The sentiment has not gone beyond the natural desire to reclaim, as a sovereign state, the rights which had been lost and to assure that no further territory will be lost or further right will be intruded. It is, perhaps, a type of nationalism sanctioned by the liberal minded and called legitimate and properly inspired.

We have observed that there are three outstanding features in this problem of national sovereignty as seen in Chinese schools. First, a dual nationalism existed in the Tsing Dynasty. The question of dual nationalism is not an important one in the present stage of China's development. However, in the interest of nationalism, its existence can not be ignored and the educational situation in the latter part of the Tsing Dynasty can not be understood apart from it. Parallel to the scheme to devise ways and means to guarantee against the further loss of national sovereignty, there was an undercurrent of demand incorporated with the growing liberal spirit for democracy all over the world, that the Manchus surrender or return the national sovereignty to the Chinese. The delicacy of the situation complicated the solution for the introduction of modern education. While efforts were made to inculcate solely nationalism against the Powers and measures were taken, as seen in the aims, curriculum and student regulations, to suppress internal nationalism, this internal nationalism got its way in spite of the precautions.

Second, different forms of national rights were brought to the nation's consciousness at different stages. We have noticed that the conception of national sovereignty was not well specified in the earlier years. The only national rights of concern seemed to be territorial rights; sentiment was directed mainly at lost territories and lost wars. But, since the Twenty-one Demands of 1915, the Student Movement of 1919, the Anti-religion movement of 1922, the reorganization of the Nationalist Party of 1924, and the Shanghai and Canton Incidents of 1925, school education has been increasingly

conscious of other forms of national sovereignty that have been impaired and that should be fought for, such as the jurisdiction over foreigners in China, the control of tariff, the administration of foreign concessions, the right of education, etc.

Third, along with the development in the consciousness of national sovereignty is the corresponding change in the sentiment and imagination called out for the cause of national sovereignty. The earlier conception was to resort to military power and to inculcate the spirit of military citizenship as seen in the establishment of naval and technical schools, the kind of training which students abroad obtained, and the early educational aims and the provisions of the curriculum. But the later conception has been to resort to mass action and to inculcate the spirit of protest in the name of justice and equality. The later conception has been, of course, influenced by the popular protesting movements current among the weaker nations, the prevailing talk of justice and peace in world politics, and the discovery of the apparent power of the resolved economic consumer. How the sentiment for national sovereignty will be further developed, like all other sentiments of nationalism, will depend upon the internal conditions and especially the external conditions of the nation.

In conclusion, let it be remembered that the foregoing analysis has simply tried to present the developments of nationalism in school education in China, to point out the nationalistic implications of various phases of school education, and to reveal the relationships between the school as a social institution and nationalism as a social force, and not to suggest a policy of nationalism for school education in China. But, in order to propose a sound policy of nationalism for that purpose, one has to examine also the nationalistic backgrounds and tendencies of other national systems of education, and, above all, to embrace in its consideration the problems of democracy and of livelihood in the light of the trends in the modern world.

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LIST OF SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS ANALYZED IN CHAPTER IV

Notes: *a.* All these textbooks are published by the Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, in the Chinese Language.

b. With only one exception, all these books are students manuals.

THE REPUBLICAN SERIES.

Subject of Text	Book	Date of First Publication	Edition Examined	No. of Lessons
National Readers for Higher Primary Schools (For Classes that begin in the Fall.)	I	Jan. 1913	72nd Ed. April 1920	30
	II	Jan. 1913	50th Ed. Feb. 1919	43
	III	Feb. 1912	50th Ed. Aug. 1919	33
	IV	Jan. 1913	47th Ed. Nov. 1920	39
	V	Jan. 1913	45th Ed. Nov. 1920	31
	VI	Jan. 1913	38th Ed. Aug 1919	38
Chinese Geography for Higher Primary Schools (For Classes that begin in the Fall.)	I	Jan. 1913	70th Ed. July 1920	8
	II	Jan. 1913	59th Ed. May 1920	11
	III	Jan. 1913	51st Ed. Sept. 1919	8
	IV	Jan. 1913	49th Ed. April 1920	12
	V	Jan. 1913	44th Ed. July 1920	20
	VI	Jan. 1913	37th Ed. Oct. 1919	21
Chinese History for Higher Primary Schools (For Classes that begin in the Spring.)	I *	Mar. 1913	34th Ed. Jan. 1920	18
	II	June 1912	113th Ed. Feb. 1917	17
	III	June 1912	194th Ed. June 1920	17
	IV	June 1912	155th Ed. June 1920	18
	V	June 1912	131st Ed. May 1920	15
	VI	June 1912	132nd Ed. June 1920	16
Ethical Readers for Higher Primary Schools (For Classes that begin in the Fall.)	I	Jan. 1913	65th Ed. Aug. 1920	16
	II	Jan. 1913	54th Ed. Nov. 1919	25
	III	Jan. 1913	52nd Ed. Oct. 1920	21
	IV	Jan. 1913	43rd Ed. Nov. 1919	25
	V	Jan. 1913	42nd Ed. Nov. 1919	17
	VI	Jan. 1913	37th Ed. Nov. 1919	28

* This book is taken from the teachers manual, as the students manual is not available at the time of writing.

THE NEW SYSTEM SERIES.

Subject of Text	Book	Date of First Publication	Edition Examined	No. of Lessons
Chinese Spoken Language Readers for Higher Primary Schools.	I	Jan. 1924	55th Ed. Feb. 1926	50
	II	Jan. 1924	50th Ed. Mar. 1926	50
	III	Jan. 1924	55th Ed. Mar. 1926	50
	IV	May 1924	35th Ed. Feb. 1926	50
Chinese Geography for Higher Primary Schools.	I	Jan. 1924	75th Ed. Mar. 1926	18
	II	Mar. 1924	45th Ed. Jan. 1926	18
	III	Mar. 1924	45th Ed. Jan. 1926	18
	IV	Aug. 1924	35th Ed. Jan. 1926	20
Chinese History for Higher Primary Schools.	I	Jan. 1924	65th Ed. Mar. 1926	18
	II	Jan. 1924	50th Ed. Jan. 1926	18
	III	May 1924	40th Ed. Jan. 1926	18
	IV	Aug. 1924	40th Ed. Feb. 1926	18
Civics for Higher Primary Schools.	I	Jan. 1924	70th Ed. Jan. 1926	16
	II	Feb. 1924	50th Ed. Nov. 1925	16
	III	May 1924	40th Ed. Nov. 1925	16
	IV	July 1924	45th Ed. Feb. 1926	16

THE NEW AGE SERIES.

Subject of Text	Book	Date of First Publication	Edition Examined	No. of Lessons
National Language Readers for Elementary Schools, Upper Level.	I	Oct. 1927	170th Ed. Feb. 1930	48
	II	Nov. 1927	110th Ed. Sept. 1929	44
	III	Dec. 1927	110th Ed. June 1929	40
	IV	Feb. 1928	80th Ed. April 1929	36
Chinese Geography for Elementary Schools, Upper Level.	I	Sept. 1927	160th Ed. June 1930	18
	II	June 1927	145th Ed. Feb. 1930	18
	III	Oct. 1927	130th Ed. Feb. 1930	18
	IV	Nov. 1927	100th Ed. July 1929	18
Chinese History for Elementary Schools, Upper Level.	I	July 1927	180th Ed. Sept. 1930	18
	II	Oct. 1927	120th Ed. Sept. 1929	18
	III	Oct. 1927	65th Ed. June 1929	18
	IV	Nov. 1927	90th Ed. July 1929	18
The Three Principles of the People for Elementary Schools, Upper Level.	I	July 1927	260th Ed. April 1930	14
	II	Nov. 1927	135th Ed. Aug. 1929	14
	III	July 1928	155th Ed. Aug. 1929	14
	IV	July 1928	85th Ed. Mar. 1929	14

VITA

Chiu-Sam Tsang, native of Canton, China, born on November fourth, 1901, received private tutoring at home in the early years of his education, later entered the sub-collegiate schools of Lingnan University, formerly known as the Canton Christian College, Canton, graduated from its College of Arts and Sciences with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June, 1923, joined its faculty from 1923 to 1928 in several teaching and administrative capacities and was later Dean of the University High School, granted a three-year scholarship to study abroad by the Provincial Government of Kwangtung and the Sun Yat-Sen National University in 1928, attended Teachers College, Columbia University, from 1928 to 1931, awarded the degree of Master of Arts by Columbia in June, 1929, elected to membership of the Kappa Delta Pi Honorary Society of the Educational Fellowship in August of the same year, engaged in educational research of which his doctorate dissertation is the product, under the supervisions of Professors George S. Counts, William H. Kilpatrick, and Harold Rugg in 1930 and 1931.